THE NEW REPUBLIC

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

With the Kennedy Party

★ The candidate's voice bounces off the limestone front of the Lebanon Bank all around Penn Square. They have stuck the bannered speaker's stand in front of the Elks' Club, across from the Wiemer Hotel; one policeman guesses 4,000, another thinks it's maybe more – all agree that it's the biggest crowd assembled in political history.

The "Walk – Don't Walk" sign flashes at the corner of South Ninth and Cumberland but the problem isn't walking, it's breathing. Kennedy crowds have been unusual all week; bigger than expected; bigger than Stevenson got at this stage in 1956.

This is Pennsylvania Dutch country, the home of Lutheran, United Brethren and Evangelicals; there's a report that 300 Mennonites have registered and the Democrats know what that means: the "plain people" normally eschew voting. It's Republican territory, too: 2½ to 1 at the last registration. But this is also a gay, shirt-sleeved American crowd, eager to hear the band, to see the show, eager to see this controversial figure.

They see a slim young man with broad shoulders, tanned face, brown hair, white teeth, dressed in a well-cut, gray, pin-stripe suit. Before he says anything they avidly watch greetings and introductions on the platform – a sudden attractive smile on a sober face that makes him look like – who is it now? – well, maybe young Lindbergh.

Adlai Stevenson needs a jet runway to launch him into the high altitudes of his eloquence; this one seems to need no take-off at all for a less lofty flight; in fact he seems, sometimes, almost tone-deaf to the rounded, rhythmic period. He stands there for a second, half diffident and shy and then it bursts out of him, an earnest, urgent stream with a single rigid, up-and-down gesture of his right arm. What he is saying is, essentially, that America has been standing still when it ought to be moving, that its relative strength and prestige are slipping, that to be strong with Khrushchev it must be strong at home. Rarely has America been offered such different appeals in the election process where normally all appeals ultimately blend into a kind of indistinguishable sludge; Kennedy is saying, "Awake, America!" Nixon is saying "Relax!"

He has not learned some of the basic platform tricks. He does not wait out laughter or applause; he does not use ruffles and flourishes; habitually he looks only at the right hand side of the crowd. Photographers scramble to his right – "When he looks left," one said, "he's only doing it because he's been told to and his expression is no good!"

He is an advance text skipper. Twice he has offered prepared explanations of his position on the crucial economic matter of "growth," once at Cadillac Square, Detroit, again last week at the Shrine Temple at Harrisburg, and each time some reporter who trusted the release wired out quotations ahead of time that he never gave. "Very well," you say, "so what? He moved the crowd in each case with his extemporary remarks!" True, but what weight does a candidate attach to a "five-point program to meet unemployment" which he forgets to deliver? It is disconcerting for Harvard's Archy Cox, who is trying to coordinate his talks.

What Does the Nation Want?

★ There is a subdued air of hope in the Kennedy entourage. Crowds have been good – better than expected; they also think Kennedy scored on the "religious issue," particularly that television show from the blue-draped crystal ballroom of Houston's Rice Hotel, September 12, when the nation watched the lonely young man keep his temper before an unctuous Inquisition. (We have a hunch Democrats before long will offer evidence that conservative economic interests are financing some of these church groups.) But the real test is yet to come. How will Kennedy do in his joint TV appearance with Nixon? And above all – what is the mood of the nation – does it want to be soothed, or is it dissatisfied enough to want to march forward again? That probably will decide the election.

Kennedy stops speaking and the motorcade storms on. It is interesting to watch the complicated young man try to preserve his dignity. At York Fair they tried to photograph him with a donkey, no go; when he "bought a brick" for a dollar for the new Salvation Army home he didn't seem to hear photographers urge him to "hold the brick up." He was even more self-conscious in explaining his wife wasn't along because she was going to have a baby. There is something patrician in this pin-stripe radical.

Is "radical" the word? We think Kennedy is saying things every day that would be called "socialistic" if Hubert Humphrey said them. Maybe we are wrong. Kennedy's lifeline seems to us moving steadily left. His basic economic thesis is that America can have fast growth and full-employment and finance it by its own expansion. That is one of the most sweeping conceptions any candidate ever advanced.

Says *New York Herald-Tribune's* Robert Donovan, "not even Adlai Stevenson went so far in his campaigns of 1952 and 1956." Broadcaster Edward P. Morgan says, "Kennedy has already taken positions on such controversial issues as public power and civil rights sharply to the left of Stevenson's." Syndicated columnist William S. White, who is close to Lyndon Johnson, warns Kennedy not to go so far "to please the left wing of his party"; his campaign is "in trouble" because of it, White cries. And finally John A. Grimes in *The Wall Street Journal* says Kennedy's "all-out liberal line . . . (is) as hard as the jut of his jaw." Well, maybe America isn't ready for it. But that's the way it looks.

Meanwhile, back at his old tricks, Nixon at the Machinists' Convention at St. Louis offered what he called a direct quotation from Kennedy to make him say "what labor wants, I want." This was a neat twist from the actual statement, "I know labor wants what I want." And the campaign is young yet.

Gospel According to Adlai

★ Adlai Stevenson recently distinguished between Norman Vincent Peale and St. Paul: "I find Paul appealing, but Peale appalling."

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How instructive and amusing it would be to tune in on what are no doubt tortured hours of discussion now going on within the councils of the automotive industry. The auto makers sit at a nerve center of the economy; their production decisions can have a rapid tonic or depressing effect on our economic well-being, which is to say, one need hardly add, on the way the body politic functions as well. In the uncertain economic climate of 1960 the temptation to assist in toning up the economy for the benefit of the Republican candidate has apparently been irresistible. Still, business is business, and the dilemma in Detroit has been that for all of the sense stepped-up production makes in Republican political terms, one can find scant economic justification to offer the stockholders.

That political dictates have triumphed can be clearly seen in the astonishing statistic that 1,135,400 cars – nearly twice the average characteristic of the past five years – have now been scheduled to roll off the assembly lines during September and October. Detroit plans to produce 450,000 of the '61 models in September (as against an average of 265,000 for these same months over the 1955-59 period) and 685,000 in October (as against a 400,000 average for the preceding five years). Inventories as of the start of November during the past five years have averaged 464,000 cars, yet this year the figure is expected to range from 850,000 to 1 million – pointing to inventories two to three times bigger than normal by Election Eve.

Search as one will, no plausible economic explanation emerges to account for this early changeover. The official industry rationale is that bigger inventories are justified by the wider range of models available because of the new compact cars. To be sure, the number of models has jumped by some half dozen (the Edsel line has, on the other hand, been dropped). But this hardly accounts for the enormity of the increase in inventory. At the very moment when Detroit let out the word on the new schedules, dealers were wondering what to do with a glut of 900,000 of the '60 models still on hand, and the used car market was comparably soft. Dealer dismay is understandable when one considers the many recent surveys – including one last week by *The Wall Street Journal* – indicating that consumer intentions are far from encouraging. Even with a high of, say, 500,000 cars sold each month, which would be remarkably above the norm, inventories on Election Eve may stand at well over 1 million – a prospect suggesting, among other economic consequences, widespread auto worker unem-

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"Rain, Rain, Please Remember,
Stay Away Until November"

ployment this winter. The chain effect throughout the economy that the Detroit decisions may have is attributable to the fact that 20 percent of steel industry output goes into cars. And the situation in steel remains the major threat to the health of the economy in months ahead. An operational rate of just over half of capacity appears to be adequate to supply all business requirements that are firm enough to induce placement of orders. Placement of orders in many lines, moreover, especially in hard goods, will in most cases have to await the pulling down of inventories; over-all, these stood at $93.3 billion in July, and while this was down by $100 million from June, it was $2 billion higher than the pre-recession highs of the autumn of 1957. With operations running at less-than-capacity in most lines, business expenditures for new plant and equipment, a major stimulus to steel, are being deferred. Even in the second quarter of this year such outlays were less than expected, and plans for the remaining months are being further modified.

High, stable levels of consumption have for nearly a decade been the great sustaining force in the economy. But now consumers seem to be getting coy. Why is this so? Why, for example, are the auto inventories so likely to be a glut on the market? Experts say, first, that the rate of gain of personal income has been sliding ever since April. Against a March-to-April gain of $4.9 billion, the July-to-August gain was $400 million, and when the family-take stops getting bigger, the meeting of existing credit obligations looms larger. Outstanding consumer debts stand at some $53.5 billion. Many consumers have done enough buying in the past to be able to wait if they don't like either the product offered or the price tag it carries. They aren't hard up; they haven't slackened their purchases of soft goods and day-to-day items, but they aren't spending with enthusiasm. Above all, they aren't buying big new things like houses and cars.

It is this mixture of well-being in parts of the economy together with sags in a good many basic lines that makes the economic prospect so difficult to gauge. The service trades – and they range from the man who drives the truck that brings the clothes home from the cleaners, to the gasoline pump attendant who supplies week-end pleasure boats, to the schoolteacher and policeman who work for state and local governments – are the trades in which employment has been rising lately. Factory employment in manufacturing is where the market has been soft. So, at one and the same time, non-agricultural employment is at a record high, and payroll employment in steel (between February and August) has fallen by 10 percent.

So far as November 8 is concerned, unemployment figures are from now on going to attract closer scrutiny than storm signals of a recession which appears more and more unlikely to break in full force before Election Day. Of 3.8 million unemployed, almost half have been out of work for less than a month, but the 800,000 who have been out of work for intervals ranging upward from four months stay put at a level which has not improved since this time last year, and many of these are married men with families. Although unemployment totals are likely to go down during the next two months – the agricultural harvest offers seasonal jobs, and the teenagers go back to school – the possible political impact of unemployment must be measured as much by location as by national levels. Thus it is peculiarly significant that the 10 percent (65,000) drop in aircraft industry jobs strikes especially at Southern California, and that the 10 percent slack in steel (130,000) centers in critical Pennsylvania and Ohio.

With the exception of such pockets of discontent, most Americans will probably not have a sense of recession-in-the-making prior to the election. But this is not to discount the continuing possibility that a recession will hit the country just in time to test the new President. There are persistent signs that the high plateau on which the economy has paused for some months is giving way. And the updating of auto production schedules, which is, after all, a political and not an economic rescue operation, only temporarily arrests the erosion.

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Goodbye, Great Debate

By the time this issue of *The New Republic* reaches its readers, the controversy will have been settled, but less than one week before the first of four scheduled telecasts on which both Presidential candidates will appear, representatives of the candidates were still fighting with the networks about how the shows would be run. It had first been thought that the joint appearances (September 26, October 7, October 13 and October 21) would be divided between some form of direct Kennedy-Nixon confrontation and conventional quizzing by reporters. But each candidate is said to have preferred opening and concluding statements surrounding a question and answer session. The question remained: who would ask the questions? That decision was left for the networks to work out with the press and TV aides of Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kennedy. Herbert Klein and Pierre Salinger insisted that the panel have five members, three of whom would be newspaper and magazine correspondents who have recently covered one or the other of the candidates.

However, on September 15, Sig Mickelson, President of the CBS News Division, stated that three of the panelists on the first program would be Stuart Novins (CBS), Robert Fleming (ABC) and Charles Warren (Mutual); he later added a fourth name – Sander Vanocur of NBC. The concurrence of Mr. Klein and Mr. Salinger, who have been battling for news and magazine representation on the programs, seems not to have been first secured. Mr. Mickelson referred to four panelists, not five, all network reporters.

The most questionable aspect of Mr. Mickelson's announcement, however, was not that radio and television personnel alone were included (though what one would give to hear the questions of James Reston or Walter Lippmann); it was the networks' rather surprising choices. The four men named were competent, but were they the most competent group available? Were they the ones most likely to sharpen the issues?

The networks are not bereft of tough-minded and sophisticated news analysts. There are, among others, Edward R. Murrow, Eric Sevareid, Howard K. Smith, Dave Brinkley, Martin Agronsky, William Costello, Edward Morgan, and there is even Lawrence Spivak who can be counted on to trap the suavest guest into saying something significant. Taken as a whole, the selections by the networks gave rise to the suspicion that they are unduly concerned to protect themselves from the charges of partisanship that might ensue were the panelists *too* determined to get to the bottom of things. Mr. Warren of Mutual, for example, who was Fulton Lewis' choice as his vacation replacement, might hesitate to press a question which might rub Republicans the wrong way, for his network is now owned outright by Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing, whose Republican sympathies are no secret.

Could there ever have been a real TV debate? Antagonists in a traditional debate agree beforehand on the question before the house; the very form of the question inevitably is prejudicial to someone. Mr. Nixon would not debate the question: "Resolved, that United States foreign policy since 1953 has been a failure." Mr. Kennedy would not accept the question: "Resolved, that peace without surrender can best be assured by a Republican victory." In order to have debate in a formal sense, each contender must agree on what the subject is and which side each is on.

When Lincoln and Douglas faced each other in 1858, they did more than air their respective views or answer questions. But neither was a Presidential candidate; neither was dogged by hundreds of journalists; neither had to clear the arrangements with television executives; neither was limited to one, two, three or five minutes; and neither was directly addressing the nation. Lincoln advocated the outright prohibition of slavery in the territories, and Douglas favored a measure of territorial local option called "popular" or "squatter sovereignty." These two policies were mutually exclusive and consequently the Illinois electorate could choose between clear alternatives ably advocated.

Though this first joint telecast in history will have great drawing power, the chances that the remaining three will command the mass attention originally anticipated has diminished. What the voters will be offered is a campaign-style *Meet the Press* (which reaches about five million TV sets weekly), and though that will be something of value, and could be something exceptionally instructive if the questioners know what the real questions are and have the courage to put them bluntly, it is not going to be that Great Debate.

Lodge on Learning

According to Henry Cabot Lodge, this is no time for on-the-job training in the White House. He made the remark to an audience of Republican officeholders in Chicago. "That just popped out of my head," said Mr. Lodge when his listeners burst into hurrahs. "I'll have to use it again."

And we trust he will, for the line that just popped out of Mr. Lodge's head epitomizes the main issue of the campaign. There is nothing inherently wrong about on-the-job training. Since the beginning of human culture men have learned by doing, and on-the-job training has had a significant and indispensable part in the development of our Presidency. George Washington obviously had to grow to the task by experience. But there have been others, too, who learned the office by serving in it and added to its traditions – just as there have been those who learned little or nothing in the

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Presidency and added little or nothing to its stature and quality, perhaps even managed to subtract from it. Indeed, we might classify our Presidents by the standard of whether they learned on the job. Those who did have been the great, creative ones. The others have been the historical nullities.

This is a fine time for on-the-job training in the White House. It is time for some on-the-job training in the whole country, and time also for the White House itself to set the example. For almost eight years now there has been no growth in executive energy and talent, no expansion of imagination in the national leadership in response to the lessons of the world and the times we live in; eight years of contentment with copy-book formulas; eight years of standing pat on outworn preconceptions while the world has moved on; eight years of diminished vision, eight years of not even being on the job, to say nothing of learning on it.

Mr. Lodge likes those eight years. He wants more of the same. Why learn? Why grow? Why try something new? He has posed the issue clearly and has taken a firm grasp on the wrong end of it.

HERR BRANDT FELL INTO SHOCKED SILENCE

Proposal for a "New Berlin"

Berlin

Last week the *Manchester Guardian* published a revolutionary new plan for solving the Berlin problem. This plan was based on three easy and almost certainly valid assumptions – that Germany will remain divided into a Federal and an East German Republic for the foreseeable future, that Communist pressure on West Berlin would continue and tend to increase, and that the geographical isolation of West Berlin – 105 miles from the Iron Curtain frontier through the middle of Germany – would remain a source of political and diplomatic weakness to the Western Alliance and could even lead to a third world war.

It is difficult to dispute these assumptions. The East German Republic is being steadily and irretrievably integrated in the Communist bloc. The creation on September 12 of a "Council of State," in place of the Presidency, and the self-appointment of Walter Ulbricht to be its first chairman, was only the latest step in this process. Another was the East German claim at the end of August that Berlin lay on the territory of the East German Republic and was its capital city. Communist pressure on West Berlin is also definitely increasing (the *Guardian* plan was evolved early in July and was in no way connected with the East German interference with freedom of movement in Berlin, which began at the end of August). And Berlin's extreme vulnerability is beyond doubt – witness the cries of anguish in Western Germany when the latest sequence of Communist restrictions began.

With a radical tradition behind the paper, the *Guardian* published a radical solution. This was to move West Berlin, physically, to an "appropriate" site inside the borders of the Federal Republic. The whole Western world, and not just the Germans, should set to work to build the "New Berlin" at immense cost and effort (but considerably less cost than that of a few days of war). The 2.3 million West Berliners should be given the right to move with their city, taking their belongings and industrial equipment with them. In "New Berlin" they would immediately have a far bigger role to play in German affairs than can be exercised by them at present, for "New Berlin" would become the functioning capital of the Federal Republic and would be intended as the future capital of a reunified all-Germany.

In return for what is, in effect, a withdrawal from Berlin by the West and the conversion of the present West Berlin into a "ghost city" which the East German Republic would never be able to maintain, two principal concessions would be required of the Soviet Union. The first would be full and guaranteed freedom of movement between the two German states (this would enable East German refugees to go West without availing themselves of the present "bolt-hole" of West Berlin). The second would be the cession of a slice of East German territory, contiguous to the interzonal frontier, with a population of around 1.5 million. These people would have to be guaranteed (through United Nations observers) freedom of choice as to whether they would stay in their homes – and become West German citizens – or move eastwards (presumably largely into the evacuated half of Berlin). Similar freedom of choice would be guaranteed to the 2.3 million West Berliners.

There are obvious attractions in this plan. West Berlin costs at least $357 million a year in direct aid and indirect subsidies from the Federal Republic.

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Any serious East German blockade of the city would increase these costs enormously. "New Berlin" would quickly become economically viable. The inhabitants of West Berlin are currently unable to play a real part in the life of the 52 million strong West German community. The inhabitants of "New Berlin" would give Western Germany big-city wit and backbone. The population of West Berlin is virtually static, and youth will tend to drift out of it in the years ahead. "New Berlin" could become the most vigorous and vital capital in Europe, a planned city of the future and a magnet for the whole German people.

The *Guardian* plan added one important corollary – if the Communist bloc were not prepared to give serious consideration to a plan which involved real sacrifice on the part of the West, then the Western Powers would have only one future line of policy in Berlin: to stand absolutely firm until the day of German reunification and to exploit Berlin as the advance-post of the West and a source of obvious weakness to East German Communist regimes.

Such a new and revolutionary "Berlin plan" has the merit that it sets people thinking. The *Guardian* plan will do that, certainly, for it has become obvious that the policies of the Communist bloc are highly flexible and experimental and that a static Western defense is not the best answer to them. But any proposal should have some chance, at least, of being adopted, and this is not the case, in the foreseeable future, with the *Guardian* plan. West German opinion, though in some degree fluid, is instinctively, sentimentally and traditionally against a withdrawal from Berlin.

The Lord Mayor of West Berlin, Herr Brandt, was shocked into silence when I explained the plan to him. He saw in it the negation of his own sterling endeavors during the last 12 years. Herr Lemmer, the Federal Minister for all-German Affairs, was afraid that such a plan could seriously damage Western prestige in Central Europe, and especially behind the Iron Curtain. A Social Democratic Party spokesman readily admitted that Berlin was a source of diplomatic weakness, but regarded an evacuation of a position which is only just tenable as "unthinkable." The editor of the West Berlin *Tagesspiegel* considered that withdrawal from Berlin would bring a significant shift in the balance of East-West forces and strength in Europe. "Don't think primarily about us Germans," was his refrain. "Think about the West as a whole. Think about yourselves."

There is some basis for this argument. The actual existence of a free and independent West Berlin has prevented the quicker consolidation of the whole satellite bloc in Central Europe. Herr Ulbricht may never be able to sleep safe at night as long as the Western advance-post is maintained only 40 miles from the Oder (possibly this is one reason why he has moved his residence from East Berlin to Wandlitz, 10 miles outside the city, where he lives in a "government ghetto" guarded by 140 East German soldiers). West Berlin is an impediment to the crystallization of the division of Germany. It is the one focal point behind the Iron Curtain where information about the Communist bloc can be easily collected and from which truthful news can be beamed out to its oppressed inhabitants. Berlin is a meeting-place for East and West Germans, a stimulus to those East Germans who passively resist Communist indoctrination and courageously keep alive the dim hope that their country will some day soon be reunified on a basis of personal and political freedom.

These considerations are far more important than the clap-trap talked about the "soul and soil of Berlin" and about the glories of the old Reich capital which American bombs and Russian shells pounded to dust by 1945. They are more important than worries about the cost of building a new capital – at least $14.2 billion – or about the hideous uprooting of two million people who have shown a consummate ability to stand firm and control their nerves. They are bigger than domestic political considerations: A radical solution of the Berlin problem is especially unacceptable at a time when West Germans are already thinking about the 1961 Federal Election and when West German politicians are doubly determined to do or say nothing which can lose them votes. They are certainly more important than the resentment caused by any proposal which involves sacrifice and the ready way in which Germans ascribe treacherous motives to their allies. An apt example of this tendency was supplied a month ago when the Swiss philosopher, Karl Jaspers, suggested that German unity could be jettisoned if the 17 million East Germans were given a properly democratic constitution and the basic freedoms guaranteed to nations of the Western world.

West Germans deserve every sympathy for the predicament in which they and their country find themselves. An unacceptable solution of their present problems can never be forced on them. Because they are contributing of their own free will to NATO they have a right to demand that Berlin should be held by the West and its status maintained inviolate. They cannot be blamed for hoping against hope that *something* will happen which can improve prospects for a solution of the German question as a whole – a change of regime or outlook in the Soviet Union, a period of active Russo-Chinese rivalry, a Titoist movement in the Soviet satellite states. Yet the Communist screw has been turned inexorably on Berlin during recent weeks, and Western counter-measures are bound to be somewhat ineffectual (restriction of the granting of visas to East Germans travelling to Western Europe, and proposed "voluntary" cancellation of West German businessmen's trips to Eastern Germany). New thinking on the Berlin problem may seem heretical, but it is timely.

Terence Prittie

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Can Kennedy Set Them Afire?

If Kennedy is going to win – and he knows this – he must carry New York, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois – the big urban states – and yet to date in these crucial areas one finds a shortage of enthusiasm for the Democratic ticket. True, there are plenty of committees (equipped with exemplary handbooks) but one gets the impression that the members are busy converting each other and working out fine matters of protocol: Whose name goes *first* on the letterhead?

The prizes to be won in these urban commonwealths are obvious: the votes of the minorities and the independent voters of liberal persuasion. The Negroes, for example, have arrived at that level of political consciousness where they are one-issue bargainers. Consequently the more time Kennedy spends, say, in Texas, the more Negro suspicion develops. Among still unsettled and uncertain Jewish voters, a significant residue of anti-Catholicism can be found: an historical-minded people refuse to forget the medieval ghetto, the savagery of medieval Christendom. This atavistic chord is reinforced by suspicion of Kennedy's reaction to McCarthyism. Obviously those Jews who are disturbed by the McCarthy theme are not going to vote for Nixon, but on the other hand they are not going to hit the bricks for Kennedy; they are not going to bring out the halt and the lame to vote as they did for FDR.

Now John Kennedy can hardly be blamed for not being FDR, but if the Senator is going to win an uphill fight against the toughest professional of our time (how brilliantly Nixon has adjusted his form to the current Era of Good Manners), he has got to get up a head of steam in the great urban states. By ADA or *The New Republic* or AFL-CIO standards, Kennedy has a superb voting record. He has every right to raise the standard of liberalism, but so far he has felt compelled to spend most of his time trying to convince people who will probably vote against him anyway that he won't cede the United States to the Holy See.

Although I personally agree with TRB that Stevenson is far more conservative than Kennedy, the Senator has clearly suffered in the eyes of some Democrats in these critical urban areas from the contrast with Adlai. Stevenson, that urbane, witty, slightly dilettante figure, was the paradigm of what an intellectual would like a politician to be. One often had the feeling when watching Stevenson speak that one-half of Adlai was clinically observing the other half being a politician; Kennedy, on the other hand, is totally immersed in winning whatever battle is before him. Stevenson strikes one as Greek, with all the *deracine* charm that this implies; Kennedy is a Roman, and Romans never have been particularly popular with intellectuals, who are always unsettled by people who play for keeps.

Unfortunately, events this summer have strengthened a potentially disastrous public image. The impression a random viewer got of the Democratic Convention on TV was one of gears clicking, wheels whirring and lights flashing: a triumph of cold, heartless manipulators over sincere, bleeding human beings. This was vastly exaggerated, an image presented largely, I think, by the TV and newspapermen who overplayed and dramatized the strength of the Stevenson forces. But when Goliath floored David, the watching public left with a vague conviction that it had witnessed the Wrong Ending, that ruthless might had crushed righteousness. This sense of injustice was, of course, reinforced by the wild wailing of the Stevenson revivalists in total control of the balconies. Robert Kennedy contributed throughout to this wretched image by acting like a poker player with four aces.

Actually Senator Kennedy, as he demonstrated in his extemporaneous demolition of Senator Johnson before the Texas delegation, is extremely fast on his feet. His coming TV confrontations with Nixon offer one of his chances, perhaps, to cut loose from the elaborate apparatus he has built and to strike out as a man. Every candidate needs research assistance, speech writers, "idea men" and a good line organization, but a candidate who gives the impression that he is tied to a Thinking Machine is unlikely to build up much empathy among the population. No one ever voted for a Thinking Machine (note that Richard Nixon memorized his acceptance speech so he could talk largely without notes, "simply, humbly from the heart"). Moreover, Thinking Machines cost money and Senator Kennedy can not afford to overlook the nostalgic anti-capitalism of the average man.

In short, Senator Kennedy should unmechanize his campaign and continue the effort he has begun to discuss serious issues informally and frankly. This cannot be done ritualistically, nor can it be handled by the staff. Jewish liberals in New York who are troubled by Kennedy's record of silence on McCarthy cannot be wrapped up and delivered by activating the Liberal Party; Stevenson's following will not be energized by burning a candle at Hyde Park; Negro leaders worried about Lyndon Johnson will not be appeased by an Advisory Council of eminent Negroes. A human being named John F. Kennedy has got to make clear to them that *he* is the man they can trust, that *he* cares and shares their dreams.

JOHN P. ROCHE

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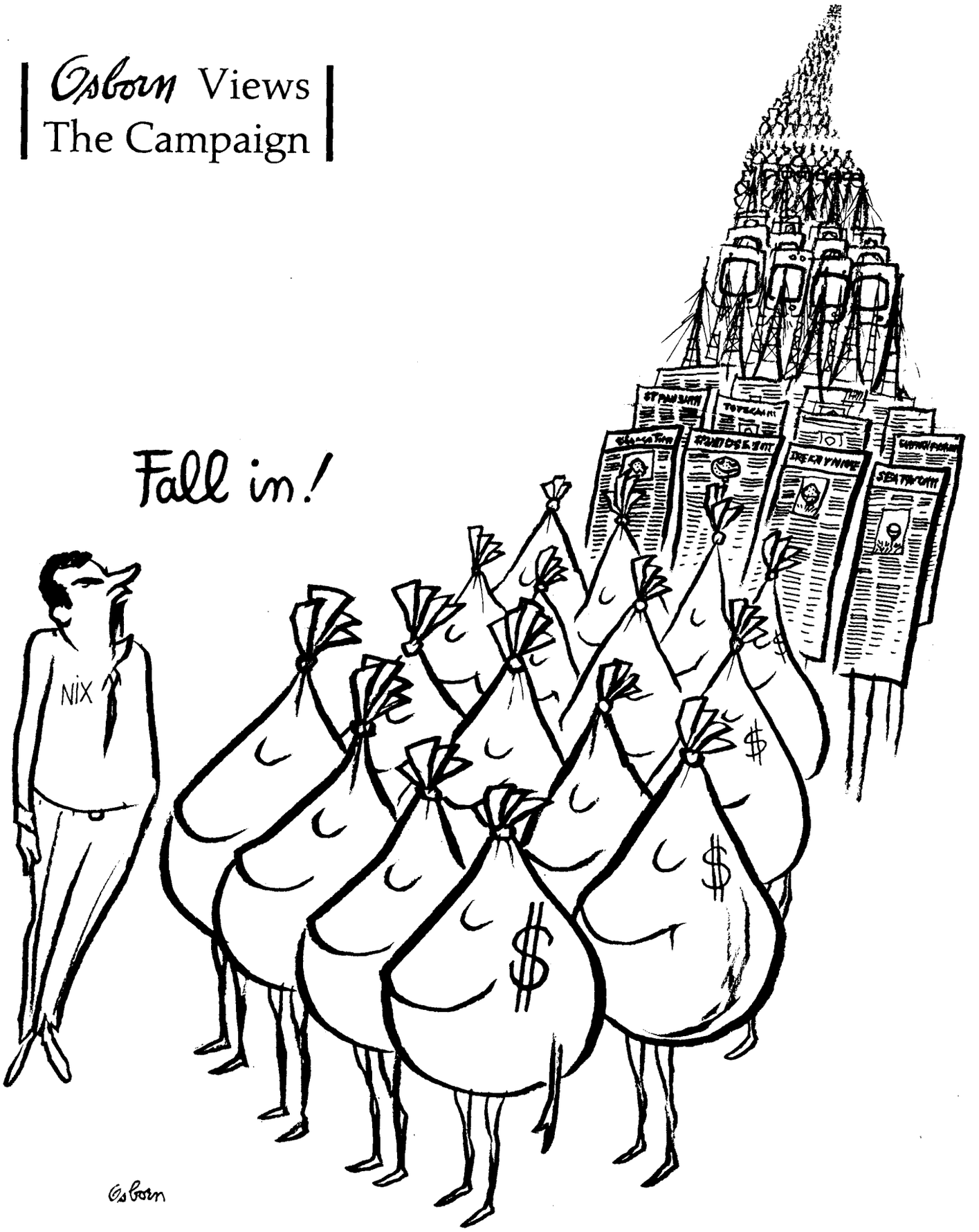
Osborn Views The Campaign



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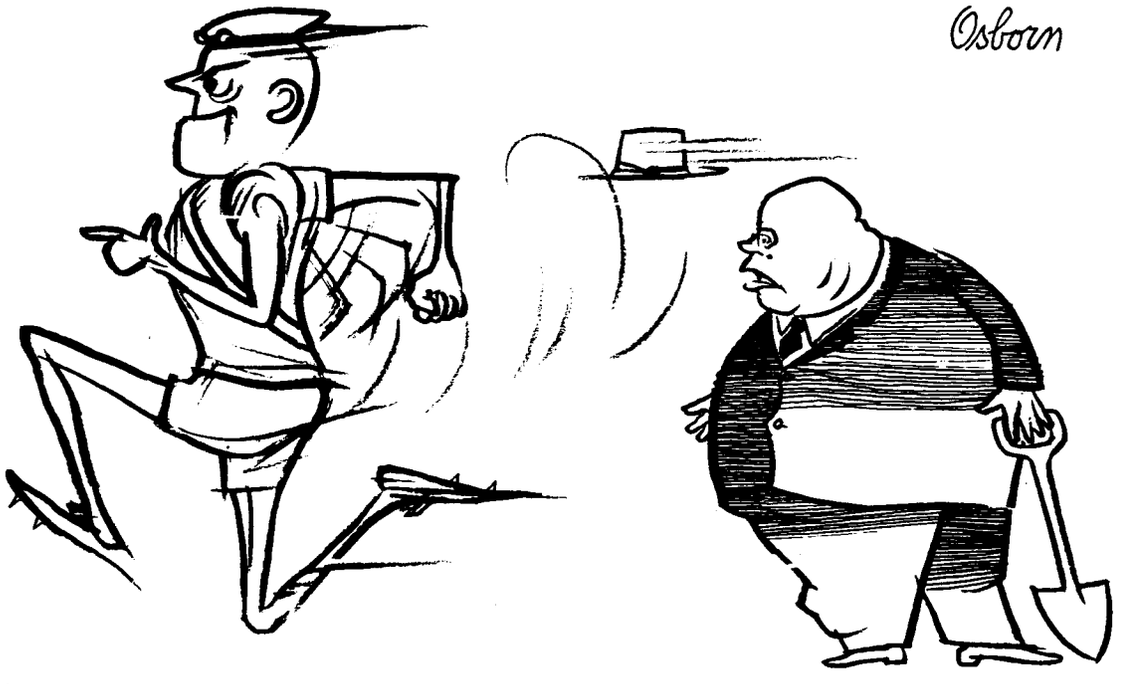
It isn't who can sass Khrushchev



Its who can PASS Khrushchev

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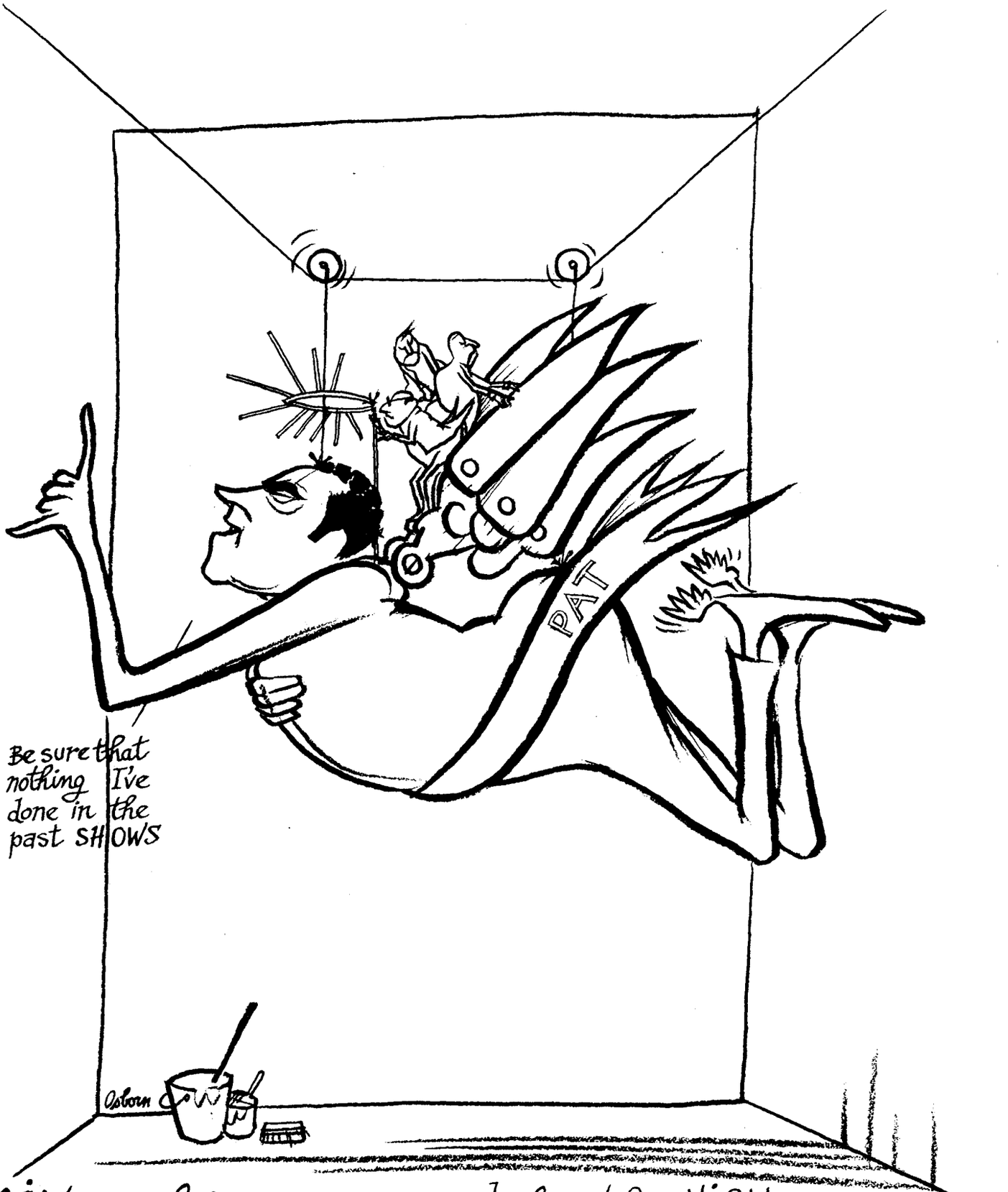

Nixon being prepared for the HIGH road.

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By the Nose

The pathos of the existing situation is the spectacle of an utterly humorless man being tormented by a humorist. It is hard to see why Khrushchev is attending the United Nations meeting in New York since he has already attained his objective, which was to make a monkey out of Ike. He attained it because Ike walked blindly into the trap, as he always does.

To anyone with a spark of humor the riposte to Khrushchev's announcement of his intention was obvious. It was to assure the world that if Mr. Khrushchev exercised his right to visit the UN he would not only be protected and given every courtesy due a delegate, but would also be furnished three square meals a day, which he probably needs after living for months in Russia.

But Eisenhower could no more do that than a bullfrog can sing tenor; which is one reason why Soviet diplomacy has been running rings around us for eight years. Instead, the Administration announces that the head of the Russian state will be restricted to Manhattan Island. That is, of course, exactly what Khrushchev expected and he would have been nonplussed if he had been given the treatment accorded any other emissary.

However, he measured Eisenhower with deadly accuracy long ago and knows exactly how to make him look foolish without really taking any risks. So he led us to inform the world that we dare not turn this one man loose among 180 million Americans.

Now it is known to everybody, including the Congolese and even the Egyptians, that Khrushchev cannot carry a hydrogen bomb in his pocket. It follows that whatever damage his presence among us would inflict is not physical, but metaphysical. We credit the man with possession of the Evil Eye. Probably few of us believe that if he stared fixedly at the Washington Monument it would crumble and fall down, but we do believe that if he were given a chance to look an average American in the eye, the American would suffer moral and intellectual damage to an unpredictable extent. He might be transformed into a Communist. Or at least we give the impression that we believe it.

Khrushchev is blissfully aware of this and is losing no opportunity to point it up. Contrary to the credo of the Washington militarists, the armament of the United States has never been the chief obstacle in the way of Russian dominance of the world. That obstacle is the prestige of the United States, won not by arms but by the statecraft of a long succession of political philosophers from Washington to the second Roosevelt. If that prestige can be destroyed, or gravely damaged, our arms alone will never halt the Russian advance.

Every move that makes the United States look silly to the rest of the world chips away something of that prestige. Khrushchev's announcement of his purpose to visit the UN was such a move – and Washington stepped right into the snare. For belief in the Evil Eye is silly, as the better-informed Congolese and even the Egyptians know. Nevertheless, it works. Khrushchev can't put the hex on us, but we can very easily put it on ourselves by acting as if we believe in such nonsense. For the efficient truth in history is not what happened, but what men believe happened, since it is on the basis of their beliefs that they act.

It is theoretically possible for our great offices of state to be filled by Washingtons, Lincolns and Wilsons, while yet the nation loses caste; for if the rest of the world believes that our leaders are Walt Kelly's three bats, Bewitched, Bothered and Bewildered, the world will act as if it were dealing with bats and not with statesmen.

As long as the Muscovite joker can lead Washington by the nose into every kind of absurdity, including abandonment of the American principle of freedom of movement, the joker will command more admiration and respect than his victim; and that is what has been happening to us ever since the sense of humor was banished from the District of Columbia.

In some instances Khrushchev doesn't even have to start the process for some Washington genius will save him the trouble. Consider, for example, the opening hearings on the Cuban imbroglio. It was solemnly testified that somebody handed Cuba to the Communists. True enough; Castro did. But what handed the island to Castro? Obviously, our fat-headed support of the murderous thug, Batista. But is that admitted? Oh, no. The blame is laid on anonymous office-boys of Secretary Herter, the inescapable inference being that Herter is such a fool he lets office-boys run the place.

How the Kremlin must have roared with glee over the pronouncement! And how puzzling it must be to the Congolese and Egyptians that the US ever became a first-rate power under such befuddled leadership!

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Catholics on the Court

by Harold W. Chase, Margaret Jane Green and Robert Mollan

Even more than the President, the Justices of the Supreme Court are the official guardians and interpreters of the Constitution who deal directly with the meaning of the First Amendment as it applies to freedom of religion and the relationship of church and state. Thus if it were true, as Norman Vincent Peale and others preoccupied with the "religious issue" maintain, that Catholics in public life must give priority to church doctrine over the Constitution, one would expect to find some manifestation of such a priority in the decisions and opinions of Catholic Justices.

Without citing any evidence, Senator Kennedy in his speech on the religious issue before the American Society of Newspaper Editors flatly asserted that ". . . our highest Court . . . has a long history of Catholic Justices, none of whom, so far as I know, was ever challenged on the fairness of his rulings on sensitive church-state relations." Is this assertion justified by the record? There have been six Catholics on the Supreme Court, two of whom have served as Chief Justice:

Roger Taney	1836-1864 (Chief Justice)
Edward White	1894-1921 (Chief Justice)
Joseph McKenna	1896-1925
Pierce Butler	1922-1939
Frank Murphy	1940-1949
William Brennan	1956-

The first three Catholic Justices had little opportunity to deal with cases involving the provisions of the First Amendment pertaining to freedom of religion. This may seem surprising in view of the importance of the church-state issue. But one should remember that *the First Amendment specifically limits Congress' power and not the power of state legislatures.* Since virtually all the problems in church-state relations have stemmed from state action, there was nothing in the Constitution which could be invoked against state action that violated the principle of separation until the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. The pertinent provision of the Fourteenth Amendment is: "Nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." Obviously, before the Fourteenth Amendment could be used to preserve religious freedom against state action, it was necessary for the Supreme Court to develop the interpretation that the word "liberty" in the Fourteenth Amendment included freedom of religion. This the Court was slow in doing. The Court finally included freedom of religion as part of "liberty" sometime between 1920 and 1940. (It was not until 1940 that the Court explicitly did so in *Cantwell v. Connecticut* despite indications in earlier decisions that "liberty" included all of the First Amendment freedoms.)

It is clear that the Catholic Justices were no more responsible than the others for the Court's tardiness in finding that the Fourteenth Amendment had application in cases involving religious freedom. As a matter of fact, when the Court finally did come around to this position, the two Catholics on the Court, McKenna and Butler, had helped to pave the way.

Although Taney, despite his long tenure on the Court, had no occasion to participate in cases involving the issue of separation of church and state, White and McKenna did have two cases. They went along with their seven Protestant brethren in 1899 in deciding that the First Amendment and the concept of separation of church and state did not bar the Commissioners of the District of Columbia from granting public money to a private Catholic hospital, where the hospital agreed to accept poor patients sent there by the Commissioners. Again, while White and McKenna were on the Court, in 1908, the Court unanimously held that the First Amendment safeguarded the right of the Sioux Indians to use tribal funds to contract with the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions to educate some Sioux in a Catholic school on a reservation.

While Justice Butler was on the bench, a unanimous court decided that an Oregon law *requiring* children between the ages of eight and sixteen to attend public schools was unconstitutional. Likewise, Butler went along with a unanimous Court in finding that public money derived from taxation could be used to buy books for school children in private as well as in public schools, provided the books were the same as those in the public schools and not religious in character.

In a series of cases involving conscientious objectors Butler was part of the majority of the Court which decided that citizenship could be withheld from aliens who for religious reasons were conscientious objectors. He also wrote the opinion for a unanimous Court which

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held students could be required at the state university to take ROTC, their religious scruples notwithstanding.

On the basis of these decisions, one could charge that White, McKenna and Butler did not manifest an appreciation of the constitutional requirement of separation of church and state. As a matter of fact, in virtually all of the cases they did not see that this was at issue. But, if the charge is true, it applies equally to their Protestant contemporaries on the Court.

During Justice Frank Murphy's tenure, a whole host of cases dealing with the issues of freedom of religion were decided by the Supreme Court. Before dealing with Murphy's record in these cases, it is pertinent to stress that Murphy was no apostate Catholic. He took his religion seriously. Eugene Gressman, who was Murphy's law clerk and who has since become custodian of the Murphy papers, has written of him: "He believed in the Catholic faith without reservation; he practiced it without hesitation; and he gave generously to the Church of his interest, counsel and money." At the Supreme Court's Memorial Session for Justice Murphy, Attorney General J. Howard McGrath referred to him as a "devout Roman Catholic." Albon P. Man, Jr., wrote in the *Virginia Law Review* that, "throughout his [Murphy's] life he was a practicing Catholic who took his religious duties seriously and, it is said, was shocked at any display of irreverence. Every day until his death he is reported to have spent at least an hour reading the tattered Douay Bible given him by his mother and kept . . . beside his bed. . . ."

Most of the cases involving religion which Justice Murphy helped to decide were brought to the Court by Jehovah's Witnesses, a religious sect which is particularly offensive to Catholics for its unceasing and bitter attack on the Catholic Church, Catholic doctrine and the Pope. Yet Murphy went along with the Court in declaring unconstitutional a number of local ordinances employed to keep Jehovah's Witnesses from speaking, holding meetings, distributing literature and using loudspeakers. In a concurring opinion in one of those cases, Murphy made clear his reasons for his position: "I believe that nothing enjoys a higher estate in our society than the right given by the First and Fourteenth Amendments freely to practice and proclaim one's religious convictions. The right extends to the aggressive and disputatious as well as the meek and acquiescent. The lesson of experience is that – with the passage of time and the interchange of ideas – organizations, once turbulent, perfervid and intolerant in their origin, mellow into tolerance and acceptance by the community, or else sink into oblivion."

In the widely-discussed flag salute cases, Murphy, along with seven non-Catholic Justices, decided originally that the children of Jehovah's Witnesses could be required to salute the flag despite their religious scruples against doing so. Several years later when the Court dealt with the issue for a second time, Murphy joined a new majority which decided that the Court had previously been wrong. In a concurring opinion he made clear the reasons for his change of heart: "a reluctance to interfere with considered state action, the fact that the end sought is a desirable one, the emotion aroused by the flag as a symbol for which we have fought and are now fighting again – all of these are understandable. But there is before us the right of freedom to believe, freedom to worship one's Maker according to the dictates of one's conscience, a right which the Constitution specifically shelters. Reflection has convinced me that as a judge I have no loftier duty or responsibility than to uphold that spiritual freedom to its farthest reaches."

In two cases where the majority decided to abridge the freedom of Jehovah's Witnesses, Murphy dissented. One involved city ordinances imposing license taxes upon the sale of printed matter; significantly, a majority of the Court later adopted Murphy's view as its own. The other case, *Prince v. Massachusetts*, dealt with the violation by Jehovah's Witnesses of a state statute forbidding children to sell magazines in the street and public places and forbidding anyone to help them do so. In defiance of the law, a nine-year-old girl had been sent into the streets by her guardian to sell religious tracts. Murphy wrote that whatever else was involved in the case, he thought the child was in fact engaged in "a genuine religious, rather than commercial activity."

In view of Murphy's stand in the Jehovah's Witnesses cases, his participation in the majority opinion in the controversial *Everson* case may seem contradictory. The majority, consisting of Murphy and four non-Catholics, speaking through Justice Black, decided that it was constitutional for local school districts to distribute public money to parents of school children in order to reimburse them for the cost of bus transportation to and from Catholic parochial schools as well as public schools. The majority agreed that, "The First Amendment has erected a wall between church and state. That wall must be kept high and impregnable. We could not approve of the slightest breach. New Jersey has not breached it here." The reasoning for such an assertion was: "This Court has said that parents may, in the discharge of their duty under state compulsory education laws, send their children to a religious rather than a public school if the school meets the secular educational requirements which the state has power to impose. It appears that these parochial schools meet New Jersey's requirements. The state contributes no money to the schools. It does not support them. Its legislation, as applied, does no more than provide a general program to help parents get their

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children, regardless of their religion, safely and expeditiously to and from accredited schools."

The majority's insistence that it believed in separation of church and state even while it reached this decision prompted Justice Jackson in dissent to liken the majority to Byron's Julia who, "whispering 'I will ne'er consent', consented."

But any conclusions which may be drawn about Murphy's acceptance of the majority opinion in *Everson* must be tempered by his position in the *McCollum* case. In *McCollum,* Murphy joined with the majority that found tax-supported public schools could not conduct religious instruction in school buildings during hours set apart for secular teaching. In contrast, when no Catholics were on the bench, the Court later found constitutional programs which provided for religious instruction on released time, that is, "programs which permit public schools to release students during the school day so that they may leave the school buildings and school grounds and go to religious centers for religious instruction or devotional exercises."

It is clear from the record that Justice Murphy afforded the widest latitude to the exercise of freedom of religion to all comers. It is also clear that with one possible exception, the *Everson* case, he insisted upon separation of church and state. Of course, there are those who would maintain that Murphy's position is best explained by the fact the Catholics must while in the minority guard against any abridgement of freedom of religion lest the majority apply restraints on the Catholics themselves. But this is putting Murphy in the position of being damned if he did and damned if he didn't.

Professor John P. Frank has summed up the situation concisely and well: "Murphy's stand in the Jehovah's Witnesses cases could have been discarded by his critics as bravado, a gesture of no consequence; or it might be rationalized as an indirect protection of Catholicism by building a bulwark for minorities. But in the great church and state cases of recent years, Murphy's position was so obviously independent of his creed as to call forth impassioned criticism from many of his fellow religionists. . . ."

The New Republic said at the time of Murphy's death: "No Catholic layman comes to mind . . . who is either so dedicated an apostle of civil rights or so free from domination of the Church hierarchy as Frank Murphy was."

Since Murphy's death, the only Catholic who has served on the Court is Justice William Brennan. In approximately four years on the bench Brennan has had no occasion to participate in an important case involving religious issues.

Here then is the record of the Catholic Justices in cases dealing with church and state. But it is sometimes suggested that in cases not dealing with religion *per se,* Catholic Justices have taken positions on substantive issues which reflect an adherence to Catholic doctrine. For example, there are those who think that Justice Butler's lone dissent in the famous sterilization case is an instance in point. There the Court upheld the constitutionality of a Virginia law permitting sterilization of mental defectives. Butler did not explain his dissenting vote, thus leaving the way open to the interpretation that because he was a Catholic it was impossible for him to go along with the rest of the Court in approving a birth control measure of any kind.

Against this, however, one may balance some of the decisions in which Justice Brennan has participated. In cases involving a federal law punishing the mailing of "obscene" materials and a state law making the sale or advertising of "obscene" materials a crime, the Court necessarily had to meet head-on the problem of defining "obscenity." The standard rejected was that obscenity "be judged merely by the effect of an isolated excerpt upon particularly susceptible persons." The more permissive standard adopted by Brennan and the majority was "whether to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appeals to prurient interests."

It could be argued, perhaps, that Brennan's Catholicism restrained him from going as far as the dissenters in the case, Justices Douglas and Black, who would be even more permissive in obscenity cases. But, although the United States Catholic Bishops in their statement of 1957 approved the principle enunciated by Brennan – that obscenity is not protected by the First Amendment – they indicated that the Court's definition of obscenity was unsatisfactory: "Between the legally punishable and the morally good there exists a wide gap. . . ." And surely Brennan's recent agreement with the other members of the Court that the portrayal of adultery in the motion picture, *Lady Chatterley's Lover,* is not obscenity does not square with the church view.

The extremity of some Catholic attitudes toward Communists and Communism is well known, yet Justice Brennan has consistently upheld civil liberties even where Communists have been beneficiaries. For example, it was Mr. Justice Brennan who delivered the majority opinion in the *Jencks* case which upheld the right of an alleged Communist to have access to FBI files pertaining to his case. Also, Brennan has in a number of cases upheld the rights of alleged Communists as against the power of legislative committees.

From this study of the Catholic Justices, the most obvious conclusion is that the ideas of the Catholic Justices as a group are not distinguishable from the ideas of non-Catholics. Indeed, the record of Justice Murphy alone is enough to belie the contention that every devout Catholic must necessarily feel compelled to give precedence to Catholic doctrine over the constitutional doctrine of separation of church and state.

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Growth Without Inflation

by Paul H. Douglas and Howard Shuman

The Democratic Platform promises that a new Democratic Administration will do many things. The question that is most often asked, and asked sardonically by some, is how these pledges can be made good; how we can have a more productive economy with full employment and without inflation.

A Democratic President is pledged to provide a stronger defense, more and better schools and teachers, more in fact of a great many things our communities need and want. The present Administration replies that the Democrats are talking pie-in-the-sky, that they mean to indulge in "wild spending" and "budget-busting," that these things cannot be done, or should not be done now, or should be left to the states to do, or should be studied for another year or two.

There is, therefore, a real cleavage between the parties and the candidates with respect to what and how much should be done by the federal government, and how to do it. And there is the further problem that any Democratic President, if he is true to the platform commitments, must overcome obstacles set in his way not only by most of the Republicans but by the ruling conservative coalition in Congress. These are the matters we want to discuss, and we begin by examining what has happened to our economy and what a new President could do to help make it function so that public needs can be more effectively met.

It has been reported often enough that from 1953 to the end of 1959, our economy as measured by the real Gross National Product grew at the relatively slow rate of 2.4 percent a year, below the long-time historical growth rate (1890-1959) of 3.2 percent. It was also according to the OEEC, markedly below the average annual growth rate of 4.6 percent for our Western European allies for the years 1950-1957, and it was, of course, very much below the recent Russian growth rate which Mr. Allen Dulles has estimated at 7 percent a year. Furthermore, while the comparison infuriates orthodox conservatives, it is nevertheless true that the yearly growth rate from 1947 to 1953 was 4.6 percent, or nearly double that for the first six years of the Eisenhower Administration.

Moreover – and this point is often missed by statistical jugglers – if growth is computed in per capita terms, the real annual increase from 1953 to 1959 amounted to only .7 percent or only about one quarter of the 2.5 percent rate which characterized per capita growth in the previous six years.

While there has been some pick-up this year over last, progress has been far less than was confidently predicted at the beginning of 1960; there is an excessive amount of unemployment and a huge gap between our productive capacity and its use.

The Republicans insist that the high rate of growth in the 1947-1953 period was caused by the Korean War, yet they almost never grant that the 12 percent rise in living costs during this period was in any way associated with the war. But we need not argue about the cause of growth. Instead, let us compare the progress of the economy under the Truman Administration and under the Eisenhower Administration as measured by the Gross National Product *after* taking out the federal government's purchases of goods and services. This will give us one measure of the growth in total consumption and investment in the private sector of the economy, plus the purchases by state and local governments.

In the postwar years up to the outbreak of the Korean War, the Gross National Product less federal purchases increased at an average annual rate of 9.2 percent. This amazing increase in output occurred despite the drastic $97.7 billion reduction in federal purchases from 1945 to 1947. Despite the extraordinary shock of this cut in purchases by the federal government, the economy was able to provide jobs for virtually all of the 5 1/2 million additional people who came into the labor force during the first two postwar years as servicemen and women were discharged from the Armed Forces.

The more recent record is in sharp contrast. In the years 1953 through the second quarter of 1960, the Gross National Product less federal purchases has increased at an average annual rate of 4 percent, less than half the rate of increase in the postwar, pre-Korean years. Following the end of the Korean War, federal government purchases were reduced, but by insignificant amounts compared to the post-World

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War II cutbacks. Also, from 1953 to 1959, although the growth in the labor force was much slower than in the pre-Korean postwar period, unemployment has been, on the average, at a substantially higher rate. In the main, these facts seem incontestable.

No statistical measurements are perfect but the real Gross National Product, corrected as it is for changes in the prices of its component parts, measures the total output of goods and services more closely than does any other series. It is the accepted standard of measurement among statisticians of all nations and therefore can be used with approximate reliability.

Now, the competent special staff of our Joint Economic Committee of the Congress, headed by the brilliant Otto Eckstein, has concluded that with proper governmental policies we can raise this annual rate of growth to 4.5 percent a year. If attained, this rate would give $10 billion more in GNP in the initial year than we would get with a 2.5 percent growth rate. At the end of 15 years, or in 1975, it would yield a Gross National Product of $975 billion, as compared with the $715 billion which would be reached by plodding ahead under a 2.5 percent rate. This difference of $260 billion in the terminal year, to say nothing of the enormous added sums which would have accrued during the intervening 15 years, indicates the magnitude of the stakes involved. As we have pointed out, the relative difference in per capita product would be far greater. It takes little imagination to see that the difference between the two possibilities in terms of personal well-being and national strength – and possibly even survival – are so great as to make Vice President Nixon's scornful dismissal of the issue as mere "growthmanship" absurd.

How Can It Be Done?

We of the Joint Economic Committee rejected as a long-time goal the Russian forced-growth rate of 7 percent, both because it probably could not be permanently maintained and because in a free society it cannot be reached without rigid controls and inflation. Our staff nevertheless concluded that the 4.5 percent rate could be attained without any appreciable increase in price or wage levels and without any change in our basic institutions. Governor Rockefeller and Senator Kennedy have recently set a somewhat higher annual goal of 5 percent. This may well be attainable without significant loss, but we think it safer to shoot initially for the slightly lower figure. If and when this is reached, we can then see whether a still further increase is possible at the price we wish to pay.

It is important to set a goal, but it is equally important to point out the paths that take us there. Generally speaking, the most important ways are (1) adequate increase in the physical quantities of both labor and capital; (2) fuller utilization of the existing quantities of labor and capital through the reduction of unemployment and involuntary part-time employment, on the one hand, and of unused plant capacity [*i.e.* steel] on the other; (3) an improvement in the quality of both capital and labor through better technology and the development of greater practical abilities among the workers, and (4) finally, general improvement in the spirit of industry through greater competition and more industrial harmony as between the various economic classes. Associated with all these is having the returns for labor and capital, namely, wage and interest rates, adequate to call forth the full participation of both but not so excessive as to discourage or prevent such use. Another factor is, of course, the wise use and prudent development of our natural resources of timber, minerals, the soil and water.

No one, we believe, realizes more vividly than do we the part played by increases in the physical quantities of both labor and capital in raising total production and of the importance of having capital grow more rapidly than labor in order that more may be at the disposal of each worker and hence cause output per worker to go up. In fact, the senior author of this article carried on scientific studies for more than 15 years on the relative roles which were played in production by the two factors of labor and capital.

Aside from liberalization of our immigration policies, there is little that can be done through governmental action to increase the size of the labor force over the next 15 years. In recent years it has grown at the rate of about 1.6 or 1.7 percent annually. But governmental policies which succeed in maintaining a prosperous economy will encourage a more rapid growth in family formation, in the nation's population, and therefore in the labor force, than we have been able to achieve in the past.

The increase in the physical quantity of capital has been and should be at a considerably higher rate than this. According to Goldsmith's impressive study, aggregate national capital in deflated terms increased from 1897 to 1921 at a yearly rate of approximately $3\frac{1}{2}$ percent. During this period the rate of capital saving per capita rose by about $1\frac{3}{4}$ percent. The Great Depression and the Great War of course greatly slowed down the rate of capital growth: in many of these years the depreciation of capital was not fully met. It would seem highly desirable that at the very least the 1897-1929 growth rates for capital should be maintained, and if possible somewhat increased. We would welcome a still higher rate of increase, but it should not be purchased at too high a price.

The history of our economy indicates that increased investment can best be achieved by assuring vigorous expansion of total demand. This means that interest rates should be as low as are consistent with reason-

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able stability in the price level, and although the statistical evidence is meagre, it furnishes no proof that higher rates of interest, which the financial community wants, increase the rate of personal or corporate savings. We are not arguing here for pegged low interest rates but against pegged, artificially high interest rates. The savings needed to offset any demand inflation which might result from a high rate of private investment should be provided primarily by budget surpluses rather than by unduly increasing interest rates.

Unemployment – Labor and Capital

But a mere increase in the physical supply of labor and capital is not enough. It is also necessary to have both more fully employed. Here great improvements can and should be made.

The chief enemies of adequate growth are economic recessions and depressions. These not only cause output to decline while they are operative, but they also require much of the subsequent upswing to be merely a recovery of lost ground rather than a continual advance.

Despite all the brave talk of recent years, we need further steps to lessen the severity of industrial recessions and to shorten their duration.

Moreover, one of the more ominous features of recent years has been the rise in unemployment. The rates were higher during the recession of 1957-58 than during the previous recession of 1953-54. Even more important is that each succeeding revival and recovery has found unemployment at a higher level than previously. Thus, while unemployment in this country was 3 percent in the revival from the winter of 1951 to the summer of 1953, it ran to 4 percent during the two years from the summer of 1955 to that of 1957. In the recovery from the recession of 1957-58, the index of unemployment has been below 5 percent in only three months. Indeed, for June of this year it was no less than 5.5 percent. If we add to this the full-time equivalent of the involuntary part-time workers, we get an added 1 1/3 percent, bringing the total involuntary lost time close to 7 percent. This is far too high a figure for society willingly to endure. We are personally far more optimistic than formerly about our ability to reduce unemployment to not far from 3 percent plus another 1 percent lost because of part-time.

But to cut back the unemployment, a variety of steps will be needed. To start with, low-interest government loans will reduce hard-core unemployment in the depressed areas, such as the coal-mining, textile and cut-over regions. Such loans would also utilize more fully the existing social capital in these areas such as is already invested in houses, schools, churches, stores, streets and utilities and hence release, for other productive purposes, capital which would have to be provided were these communities to be almost completely abandoned. Joined with this program should be a program of vocational retraining. Similarly, the rehabilitation and retraining of the disabled will raise productivity as will the development of more flexible retirement systems, permitting competent workmen to prolong their working lives beyond the present artificial dividing line of 65.

We must think also of the high unemployment of capital. There was, of course, a considerable amount of idle plant and equipment in 1953. But even if we take May of that year as the base of 100, by December of 1956, an index of comparative utilization had fallen to 87, and two years later, to 75. Since then there has been some recovery, but with the steel mills as late as the end of July still operating at around 50 percent of capacity, it is doubtful whether more than 80 percent of the available capital plant and equipment is now utilized even on the basis of the prevailing shifts. Having so much existing capital idle in turn discourages the investment of additional new capital and hence holds down production and employment in the capital goods industries, as well as future productivity everywhere.

One of the basic cures for the excessively high ratio of unemployed capital is lower prices in the monopoly and quasi-monopoly industries. With lower prices in these industries, more goods would be demanded as the lower income groups would come into the market, and the middle and upper groups would buy more. This increase in the quantity demanded would at once expand employment and production. It would also lure back into manufacturing and other industries workers who have been squeezed out into the service trades where their average value productivity is lower and hence would increase the total output still more rapidly. There is little doubt that the prices of many products have been kept unduly high by the innately restrictive effects of monopoly and quasi-monopoly and by explicit or tacit price agreements between ostensibly competing firms.

It was formerly the fashion to sneer at the antitrust laws and at "trust-busting" as both ineffectual and undesirable. But our economic progress would have been much slower had it not been for the Sherman and Federal Trade Commission Acts, and a still stronger effort at enforced competition would be all to the good. Why, for example, should not the giant industries be split up into almost as many companies as there are production units? Could not the giants in autos, chemicals and steel be further subdivided? Those who say they believe in a free competitive system cannot properly object to such a policy, for it would introduce more competition and at once lower prices and stimulate effort and output.

This is one of the advantages of foreign competition

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which has already had a stimulative effect upon our automobile, steel and electrical equipment industries.

What role do wage rates and union work rules have in all this? Undoubtedly, some unions have succumbed to the prevailing social and business ethic of getting as much for themselves as possible – irrespective of social consequences. They have seen their employers follow this policy, and admonitions that they should do differently have naturally seemed insincere. If a new spirit can be breathed into industry, if the distinction which Thorstein Veblen used to draw between the making of goods and the making of money could be greatly narrowed, there would also be an improvement in the practices of unions. This could be aided by periodic conferences on productivity and by providing adequate protection, as well as by the retraining of displaced workers, so as to lessen the working man's fears of new practices and machines.

Improvements in Quality

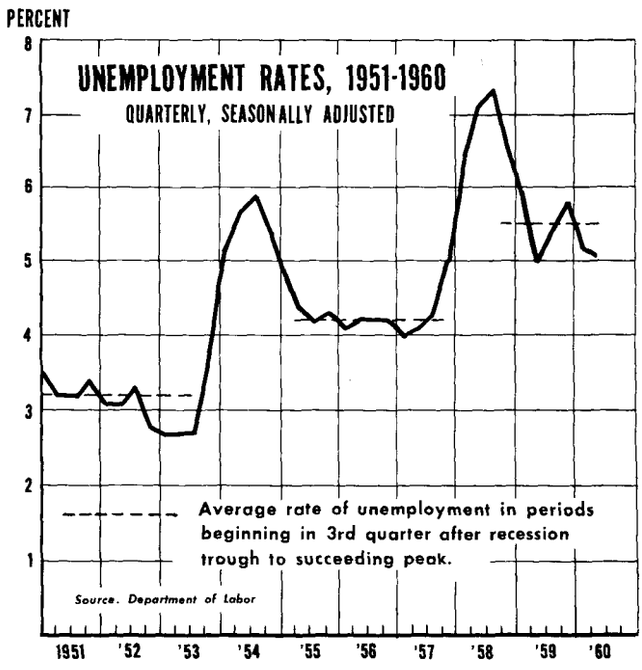
But progress is not merely a mechanical manipulation of adding more physical units of labor and capital and then utilizing these units more fully and effectively. Earlier studies by one of the present authors laid overwhelming stress upon such purely quantitative factors for the period from 1890 to 1922, and this emphasis may have been most pertinent to that time. But this explanation does not suffice for the last four decades. There is every indication instead that improvements in the technology of capital and in the skills and education of the labor force, as Professor Theodore Schultz has computed, account for from one-half to two-thirds of the total increase in our productivity.

The methods by which inventions and the spread of technology can be fostered are not mysterious. Private enterprise and true competition are certainly powerful forces. Monopolies and bigness may furnish the resources but do not provide the incentive to innovate. Smaller and more competitive units would probably do better. But this is not all the story. For public action can help as well. We sometimes forget that the present huge IBM calculators have been developed from the Hollerith machine which was first used in the Census of 1900. Similarly the whole field of atomic energy which may either destroy or reframe the world has been financed from public funds and largely conducted by non-profit groups. Other break-throughs which may be impending are the economical desalinization of sea water and the artificial manufacture of chlorophyl. These could literally change the face of the earth and are enterprises which are too huge for private resources to cope with.

A large part of the research work done in defense plants is now financed and stimulated by the national government. It is only proper that advances in technology obtained through public funds should be used for the benefit of the general public instead of being locked up under the private patent system for the primary benefit of the firms where the subsidized research and development were carried on.

If we are to attain the 4.5 percent rate of growth we believe is realistic, we should also institute a thoroughgoing re-examination of our patent system, to see if the right to exclusive use or disuse of inventions does adequately stimulate research and its practical utilization, or whether it helps to build up monopolies and retard the successful general spread of innovations. Competent students of this subject, such as Floyd L. Vaughn, have long advocated a compulsory leasing system as being preferable to our present provision of exclusive use. Certainly this question should be speedily and thoroughly explored.

In our estimates of an attainable 4 1/2 percent rate of growth we did not include gains resulting from improvements in the quality of human effort. Yet this should have a long-run effect and can, in fact, be further stimulated. For even in material terms investment in people is productive. Mankind is both an end and a means. Education is not only worthwhile in itself, but it also makes men and women more productive. Experiences with the many millions trained under the GI Bill of Rights proves this. We should make such educational opportunities more available to all, but especially to the presently handicapped classes, such as the lower income groups, Negroes, Latin Americans – and women! This would release a great deal of latent ability which otherwise lies fallow. This is one of the reasons why federal aid to education would ultimately



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more than pay for itself. Similarly, competitive scholarships for the needy and especially gifted would be highly desirable.

Is not better health also a productive investment? To reduce the days lost from sickness, to raise the level of vitality while at work and to prolong the years of working life would all raise the material productivity of life as well as adding value to life itself. Tuberculosis and formerly dread fevers have largely been conquered, but cancer, heart diseases and the crippling diseases have not. We need more research in these fields and also more adequate provision for making the curative processes of modern medicine more available to the lower income groups in the population. And here too the federal government must play an increasingly important role.

Similarly, the conservation of our natural resources, the protection of an adequate stand of timber, the provision of facilities for recreation and the preservation of the places of natural beauty and historic interest, the purification and proper use of our water supplies, the economical desalinization of sea water, all are great and productive tasks. Likewise, slum clearance and urban renewal together with better housing for low income families are productive investments, for they diminish illness, reduce fire, police and hospital costs, decrease juvenile delinquency and crime and help to provide an atmosphere that encourages lives to be usefully spent. Such public investment is not, as many charge, a waste. On the contrary, properly conducted they at once make for a better life for all, as well as a greater national product.

As a former Pennsylvania Congressman always used to shout, "Where is the money coming from" for the necessary public investment? The answer is four-fold:

1. From the reduction of wastes and improper business subsidies. The wastes in the procurement, handling, and disposal of military supplies run into the billions of dollars a year. The subsidies to airlines abroad; to shipbuilders and ship operators; to huge sugar, wheat, corn, and cotton farmers; to the slick mass circulation magazines and newspapers, come to additional billions. A truly thrifty and humane government would either eliminate or greatly reduce these wastes and save at a minimum from $4 to $6 billion a year. This, the present Administration, for all its talk about budget balancing and fiscal responsibility, has stubbornly refused to do.

2. From plugging such "tax loopholes" as excessive depletion allowances for gas, oil and sulphur, abuses in business expense account deductions, the failure to provide for the withholding at the source of the basic income tax on dividends and corporate interest payments, the 4 percent dividend credit, stock option and capital gains abuses, etc. The correction of these injustices could save from $4 to $6 billion a year, some of which should be used to reduce tax rates.

3. From the increased rate of growth itself. As we have seen, a $4\frac{1}{2}$ percent growth rate would give in the very first year $10 billion more of gross national product than a $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent rate. With the same tax rates this would yield $1.7 billion more revenue to the federal government and additional sums to state and local governments. At the end of 15 years, the difference in federal revenues in that year alone would be around $45 billion, while huge added sums would have accrued in the meantime. In other words, once a higher growth rate is stimulated by wise policies, it can largely finance its own continuance and enhancement.

4. Finally as we shall see in the paragraphs devoted to Federal Reserve policy, the government can properly claim a share of the profits resulting from the creation of an increased money supply.

With thrift, foresight and courage, we can therefore obtain the funds needed for productive investment.

Let us not be afraid to invest in the future, to invest publicly as well as privately in human beings as well as in machines; in education as well as in technology; in natural resources as well as in man-made objects, in things spiritual and aesthetic as well as material.

The Consequences of High Interest

Finally let us come to the question of interest rates and their effect upon growth, employment and price levels. We are as much opposed to the Federal Reserve pegging the price of government bonds through unlimited purchases in order to maintain artificially low interest rates as we were in 1951 when the senior author was largely responsible for inducing the Truman Administration to give up this practice.

But what is commonly ignored by the financial community and by those who take their cues from it is that under this Administration the Treasury and the Federal Reserve have worked closely together to raise interest rates to an artificially high level. Under Mr. William McChesney Martin of the Federal Reserve, the money supply has been allowed to increase at the rate of only 1.7 percent a year, or appreciably less than even the low growth rate of 2.4 percent. This in itself has operated to increase interest rates by forcing a more spirited bidding for loans in relation to the supply of credit. The Reserve rediscount policies have further contributed to the same end both by increasing the cost of rediscounting and by exerting a psychological influence upon the market and upon the other interest rates. The policies of the Treasury have operated in the same direction. At the very beginning of the Eisen-

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hower Administration they raised the interest rate which the government paid on long-term bonds from 2¼ to 3¼ percent. Some increase may have been in order but not such a jump as was put into effect. This was proved by the fact that after issue, the bonds speedily rose to an appreciable premium. It is significant that from 1953 to the end of 1959, the Treasury has accepted the advice of the American Bankers Association with respect to the interest rate and maturity on new government security issues in 84 percent of the cases, and in only 16 percent has it rejected their recommendations. (In five percent more of the cases, some major changes were made in the recommendations of the ABA.) In the last year of the Truman Administration, this advice was rejected in 37 percent of the cases.

The basic rates on issues of government securities have therefore been largely set according to the wishes of the banking profession. Imagine the outcry if the Department of Labor were given the power to set the basic wage rates in the country, and if in five-sixths of the instances in which it so acted, it did so according to the advice of the AFL-CIO!

The result, in our judgment, has been to give us an interest structure which is higher than it would have been under purely competitive conditions, were the government and the Federal Reserve neutral. Perhaps they cannot be completely neutral, but certainly they have erred on the side of an excessively high interest rate.

As we have said, there is no indication that these higher rates have encouraged saving. They have certainly discouraged investment in housing and by small business. They have therefore held down production, retarded employment, and maintained an unduly high rate of unemployment.

A Five-Point Program

The sound remedies for these practices were pointed out by our Joint Economic Committee in our report on *Employment, Growth, and Price Levels.* They are:

1. To use fiscal policy to a much greater degree to remedy excessive business fluctuations instead of depending almost exclusively upon monetary policy. This would mean bigger surpluses in periods of prosperity and rising prices, to be obtained by plugging tax loopholes, etc. It would also mean quick and temporary reductions of tax rates as a recession started and unemployment rose sharply.

2. The Federal Reserve should expand the money supply at approximately the same rate as the growth in the real gross national product. This would be noninflationary and should indeed lead to a stable general price level. The Federal Reserve attributes its slowing down of the rate of increase in the money supply to the need to compensate for the increased velocity of bank credit. But this very increase was in turn primarily caused by the higher interest rates which in turn were influenced by the relative shortage of credit. For with bank loans costing more, business cut idle bank balances to the bone and did the same with their physical inventories. This raised the rate of turnover or the velocity of bank deposits. Thus the Reserve's chain of logic was very faulty. A lower rate of interest resulting from a more ample supply of bank credit would have lowered the velocity of bank deposits and hence would have largely swept away the argument for dampening down the rate of growth of the money supply to a figure markedly below the increase in the real national product.

Head of the Household

3. The Reserve should expand the money supply at a proper rate primarily by means of open market operations rather than as in the more recent past by lowering reserve ratios. The government would thus get its present commission of one-sixth of the expansion in monetary purchasing power. In this connection it should never be forgotten that this power is vested completely in Congress, *i.e.* Article I – Section 8 – "Congress shall have the power to coin money and regulate the value thereof." Proper expansion through open market operations rather than by lowering bank reserve requirements would bring added revenues of

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many hundreds of millions of dollars a year to the government which over a decade would amount to huge sums.

4. In doing this there is no reason on earth why the Reserve should confine itself to purchasing short-time bills only. This is a delusion of Mr. Martin's with which few monetary experts agree. The purchase of long-time bonds by the Reserve to provide the needed secular growth rate in the money supply would exert a stabilizing and somewhat lowering influence on interest rates without the slightest taint of "pegging the market."

5. The Treasury should put its long-term issues up for competitive bidding instead of issuing them as par in general accord with advice given by distinctly interested parties.

Along with these reforms, the Treasury should seek to broaden the market, cultivate new sources of investment, and sell its long-term bonds to a greater degree when interest rates are comparatively low. To prevent undue speculative swings in the bond market, as in 1958, margins should probably be required of the customers who buy from the 17 traders exclusively handling the government bond market.

All of these measures should tend to reduce the general level of interest rates. They would increase output and employment and, consequently, growth without inflation.

Such are the economic issues facing the nation. They may seem abstract. But they are not. They are at the heart of politics in 1960. Upon their correct solution may hinge not merely the maximum prosperity of our economic system, but possibly its ultimate survival. The stakes are sufficiently important for us to try to understand the issues and to make an informed choice.

Challenge to a New Leadership

A final question must be asked: what would a new President and a new Administration have to do to put these economic policies into effect? How could it be done when Congress is run by the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition, when the seniority rules give such authority to some who fundamentally disagree with the platform of the party and refuse to support its nominees, and when the House Rules Committee and the Senate filibuster rule give to small minorities a veto over progressive legislation.

There are several answers. Foremost among them is the power of the President to lead. When, as now, the President and his Administration gloss over unemployment at excessive levels, when inflation is named Public Enemy No. 1 though the economy has serious problems with deflation, when a balanced budget at low levels of receipts is put ahead of adequate growth and adequate budget surpluses, and when policies to use fully or further develop both our human and our natural resources are opposed as "wild spending," little can be achieved even with mammoth efforts by liberal legislators. Therefore, the first obligation of a new President is to give the public some better economic education. Then the legislative branch can move because public opinion will be behind it.

Second, the new President must prepare a budget which does meet our needs. It would include adequate funds for defense and for the domestic programs needed to improve the skills and health of our people and properly develop our resources. And it should further provide for an adequate surplus to offset any inflationary pressure.

The President must not only send to Congress a budget to carry out these new programs but put into effect fiscal and monetary reforms so that they can properly be paid for. This means, especially, tax reform, changes to improve the automatic economic stabilizers to promote economic growth and stability, and administrative efforts to root out wasteful practices and inefficiencies.

The biggest reason for the slow growth in recent years has been the fact of two recessions and the failure to recover adequately from the second one. A President who quickly and decisively introduced proper budgetary and fiscal policies when a recession threatened, who shored up and improved the automatic stabilizers before they were needed, and who saw to it that cuts or increases in defense orders were matched by counter-cyclical actions elsewhere in the economy, could both help to prevent a recession or mitigate its effects when it hits.

He could cut back on waste and excessive subsidies through budget procedures. He could sign depressed area bills when passed by the Congress. He could press for school aid and health programs instead of using his power and influence to see that they were blocked. He could place men in key positions who were in sympathy with progress rather than fearful of it.

If elected he should immediately gather together a group of tax experts to prepare the detailed provisions for tax reform so that he could move quickly in the early days of his tenure. The power to authorize public works projects, to appoint judges, and to grant legislative requests could be and should be used to lead wayward Congressmen to support his general program. In a word he should use the full power of his office to attain his ends. A President who understands the power of his office and who is willing to exercise it can achieve these goals even against all the barriers and burdens placed in his way by the legislative process, by the groups with special and parochial interests, and by those whose sights are set too low.

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FDR's Second New Deal

by Richard L. Strout

Two thousand elegantly-dressed guests gathered in the banquet hall of the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, January 25, 1936. Among them were an even dozen duPonts who, *The New York Times* said, represented a large part of the capitalistic wealth of the country, either through principals or attorneys. For an hour Al Smith, resplendent in white tie and tails, denounced FDR and all his works. The choice for America, said Smith, was between the

The Age of Roosevelt:
The Politics of Upheaval
by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.
(Houghton Mifflin; $6.95)

"clean, pure, fresh air of American free enterprise" or "the foul breath of Communistic Russia." Pierre duPont said afterward, "It was perfect."

That was the high point of the famous Liberty League, as recalled by Schlesinger. It was formed by America's financial elite who had been rescued from the 1929 hurricane and were now emerging from the sea venomously denouncing Roosevelt for the cost of their life rafts. Six to eight million Americans were still unemployed in a labor force much smaller than today (where unemployment of 4.5 million is considered ominous). America was headed for the 1936 election which *The Literary Digest's* poll said would go Republican. But Alf Landon won only two states, and someone hung a sign on the bridge over the Salmon Falls River where drivers crossed from New Hampshire into Maine, "You Are Now Leaving the United States."

A new volume in the *Age of Roosevelt* series is not only great history but a sporting event. As everyone knows, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., summa cum laude from Harvard at 21 won the Pulitzer Prize for his *Age of Jackson* at 28, and at 40 began turning out monumental volumes on Roosevelt at 18 month intervals, each longer than the last. This one, 747 pages, is the third and gets FDR through 1936. According to our extrapolations that means six more volumes, of which the last will be 1,250 pages. And frankly we shall read every one. That is because Schlesinger is the greatest historical marathoner America has produced and because he has an eye for selective detail that makes his writing read like the morning paper.

Here are sentences from his description of FDR's acceptance speech, June 27, in the outdoor stadium at Franklin Field, Philadelphia:

> "A large white half moon, rising to the south, cast a dim light through the misty air. Then, around nine-thirty, the showers stopped, the skies cleared, and the moon, still veiled in clouds, rose steadily overhead. By now over 100,000 men and women were crowded into the stands. The quiet splendor of the scene was a change from the blaring vulgarities of the week. . . . The ocean of faces stretched out illimitably into the darkness, and the applause came back, wave after wave, while Roosevelt . . . smiled and waited. . . . He reached his conclusion. 'I accept the commission you have tendered . . . But the applause, thundering up from the audience against the dark sky, overwhelmed his last words. 'The greatest political speech I have ever heard,' said Harold Ickes; and most of those present agreed . . . Even after he had left the grounds, most of the crowd remained, as if in a sort of trance."

The thesis of this book is that the shift in FDR's approach between 1933-34 and 1935-36 was so great as to constitute a "second New Deal." The Supreme Court's unanimous Schechter ("sick chicken") case, throwing out the managed economy of the Blue Eagle and the National Recovery Administration, marked the split: "The one tried to convert business through new institutions; the other tried to discipline it through new laws. The first New Deal characteristically told business what it must *not* do." There was a different group of advisers; by 1935 Moley, Hugh Johnson, Richberg and Berle had left Washington; Corcoran and Cohen were substituting the philosophy of Brandeis and Keynes.

Schlesinger tells the story; in fact he probably tells more than the average reader wants to know. It is the fascination of the young historian, born 10 years too late to participate personally in these events. In part it is an encyclopedic desire to spread out the topics where the reader can pick and choose. Perhaps the best is about the gaudy demagogues, Huey Long, Father Coughlin, Gerald L. K. Smith, waiting to take over if FDR's fight to save democracy failed, and the chapter on the grim old conservatives of the Supreme Court, who seemed bent on making the fight fail. ("The guiding faith of the four judges was that civilization and progress depended on the massive and unending protection of property from government").

There is a contemporaniety about this story which is at first puzzling until it dawns on the reader that it is a matter of contrast. Here was a President in another great crisis who believed in strong, continuous action, and who exercised leadership to the utmost. Not for him an orderly, chain-of-command operation with everything condensed into half-sheet position papers; he operated from a bold, wild disorder, always experimenting and extemporizing, always pragmatic, always rejecting approach to social problems in terms of dogmatic ideology. As Kennedy quoted FDR just last week – "Better the occasional faults of a Government that lives in a spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a Government frozen in the ice of its own indifference."

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White Flags in the Wars of Religion

by Francis Pickens Miller

If Germany and France, after centuries of bloody strife, can begin to understand that they have common interests, is it too much to expect that Catholics and Protestants, driven by spiritual forces more universal and far more authoritative than the idea of a Common Market, may, more quickly than had been anticipated, discover that their basic interests and loyalties are also common? I mentioned the other day to a Catholic friend that perhaps in a hundred years there might be a move toward Christian unity. "Oh, it will come much sooner than that," he replied.

Roman Catholicism and Religious Liberty
by A. F. Carrillo de Albornoz
(World Council of Churches; $1)

Protestant Hopes and the Catholic Responsibility
by George H. Tavard
(Fides Publishers; $.75)

One of the barriers to re-union from the Protestant standpoint has been the prickly question of religious liberty. When American Protestants think of the current treatment of the Protestant community in Spain, or in one or two of the Latin American countries, they tend to despair and to blame these denials of freedom to worship on the "totalitarian" dogma of the Roman Catholic Church. Yet ironically it is this question of religious liberty that has offered the occasion for a beginning to one of the most promising dialogues between Roman Catholics and Protestants. The dialogue was initiated by a Spanish scholar, Dr. A. F. Carrillo de Albornoz, who is now working with the Protestant-Orthodox World Council of Churches in Geneva.

Some months ago, Dr. Carrillo published a small volume containing results of a study he had been making on "Roman Catholicism and Religious Liberty." His survey of modern Catholic thought had led him to the conclusion that, whatever the historical record might show and whatever the pronouncements of the Vatican in former centuries, there is at present a very powerful and ever-growing stream of thought among Catholic scholars and even within the hierarchy which parallels the best Protestant thought on this subject. Though Dr. Carrillo's brochure is less than a hundred pages long, the documentation from Catholic sources is voluminous and convincing.

The prevalent Protestant interpretation of the Roman Catholic attitude towards Religious Liberty concerns itself with only one Catholic view, Dr. Carillo says, and it is wrong to assume that this one view is the *only* Catholic view. He proceeds to show "the existence, *inside the orthodoxy of the Roman Catholic Church*, of another quite different theory" which is identical at many points with the dominant theory of religious liberty held by Protestant and Orthodox churches affiliated with the World Council of Churches. This "quite different theory" represents a new tendency in Catholic thought; and it will come as a distinct surprise to many Protestants to learn that most of the theologians identified with this new tendency are citizens of countries which have a Roman Catholic majority.

The arguments used by Roman Catholic scholars in favor of religious liberty are numerous. There are the Biblical and theological arguments, stressing the Christian doctrine of the nature of man. As Gregory of Nyssa says "for it is man's freedom which constitutes his resemblance to God," from which follow the implications of God's love for man and God's grace in relation to man. Further, for some Roman Catholic theologians, the very nature of Christian Faith itself is the final justification for religious liberty. Or as Hartmann says: "The only ultimate way for men to perceive what God wants him to do is by listening to his own inner voice, his conscience." Roman Catholic scholars also derive justifications for religious liberty from the nature of church-state relations and from the "democratic dimension" of modern society.

After examining the views of these Roman Catholic exponents of the "new tendency," Dr. Carrillo briefly surveys Roman Catholic tradition, noting historical facts that are often brought up to prove that the *real* Catholic tradition and doctrine are against religious liberty. He then says:

1) That "no decisive statement against religious freedom as it is understood by these Roman Catholic thinkers has ever

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The Art of War Compared to the Art of Poetry

One spot remained a spot, but swelling fast
as eagles burgeon, plunging, tucked for prey.
The rest flowed off, blossomed, engaged by air,
a dandelion mass to seed the earth.

The shortest way is down. The spot was bird,
a boy, a man, an acrobat, the ground;
but on the ground all claims were given up.
War is a risky living. "Objective gained.
The enemy innundate from the air."

Conceive the facts reversed, the sky all specks
like hail, the ground, a littered hunt for names,
while some three birdmen, captured by the wind,
away off into horizon's gold alone;
so niggardly Apollo with his wings.

PAUL PETRIE

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been promulgated by the Roman Catholic Church."

2) That condemnations by the Popes in the 19th Century (a) were directed against a freedom of conscience that was independent from God himself and from God's laws, and (b) have no eternal validity as a principle since they were conditioned by the times.

3) That "nevertheless, there is still no authoritative and decisive statement of the highest Roman Catholic hierarchy in favor of religious freedom," probably because it does not think the present debate has "ripened" sufficiently.

4) And that, therefore, as Prof. Roger Aubert, of the University of Louvain, says, "one of the main tasks of present-day theologians is to work towards a completely satisfactory formulation of the theology of religious freedom."

Following a brief discussion of the nature, sphere and limits of this freedom, Dr. Carrillo concludes by comparing the position of Protestant-Orthodox bodies like the World Council of Churches with that of the Roman Catholics who represent this "new tendency." He finds "that, generally speaking, the *doctrinal* accord between ecumenism and this stream of Roman Catholic thought . . . is highly satisfactory," and ends with a plea for Roman Catholics and Protestants alike to believe in each other's sincerity as both sides search for ways of restoring greater unity to Christendom.

As a Protestant layman I find all of this very exciting and am almost prepared to allow myself to indulge in a little hope. My hope is strengthened when I turn to the June 26 issue of *Our Sunday Visitor*, a national Catholic action weekly with more than a million subscribers. The leading front page article is by the Rev. John F. Cronin who has, I believe, as much popular influence as any Catholic writer in this country. Father Cronin writes that Dr. Carrillo's *Protestant* study "should be mandatory reading for any columnist, or writer who discusses the Catholic position on religious tolerance." Then after devoting more than a thousand words to reviewing Dr. Carrillo's thesis he concludes, "we Catholics in the United States, facing the difficult discussions of the coming months, can indeed be grateful for such a book."

My hope is further strengthened when I turn to *The Pilot*, a weekly newspaper which is the official organ of the Catholic Archdiocese of Boston, and read a story with a banner headline, THEOLOGIAN LAUDS ECUMENICAL SPIRIT OF PROTESTANT COUNCIL. The story, under a New York date-line, reports Fr. Gregory Baum of Toronto as hailing the World Council of Churches for producing an "openness of mind . . . unparalleled in the history of Christianity." The influence of the World Council, Father Baum adds, is "in the direction of truth."

Finally, there is the Rev. George Tavard's pamphlet entitled *Protestant Hopes and the Catholic Responsibility*; which begins with a description of the hopes of many Protestant churches for Christian Unity as expressed through the World Council of Churches. Father Tavard's understanding of the World Council of Churches amazes me. He has given the clearest, the most precise and the most sympathetic description of its nature and purposes that I have seen anywhere. No Protestant could have described it more fairly. Having dealt with Protestant aspirations, Father Tavard then outlines the essential responsibility of Catholics if they are to be worthy of the great opportunity that presents itself to the Christian world. He reminds Catholics that for over a century they too have had a movement for Christian Unity which originated with Bishop James W. Doyle of Ireland in 1824; he pleads for spiritual ecumenism and asks, "what is the ecumenical importance of the General Council called by Pope John XXIII?"

Father Tavard's pamphlet is obviously intended to help prepare Catholics for their forthcoming General Council, and if this is typical of the preparatory material that is to be widely used among the faithful it is possible that great things may come from that Council. Preparations for it have had a curious history. When Pope John XXIII first announced that a General Council would be convened by the Roman Catholic Church, he expressed the hope that it would contribute toward Christian unity. A thrill went through the Christian world. Then a number of incidents occurred that seemed to indicate a fading of the Pope's great vision. He is reported to have exclaimed last winter to a friend, "I had a wonderful idea, but the bureaucrats got hold of it and messed everything up."

THE VULGARIANS

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Apparently this did happen. But John XXIII has now by-passed whatever obstacles there were by establishing a Secretariat for the Union of Christians and has put in charge of this Secretariat Augustin Cardinal Bea who has had considerable experience working with Lutherans in Germany. The function of the Secretariat is to set the stage for the General Council.

This is the best news, I believe, that has come out of Rome since the Reformation. Perhaps the wall which separates us is beginning to weaken. Who knows, it may even be breached before another 450 years has passed.

South Africa's Civil Cold-War

by Adam Clymer

South Africa is a country whose immediate situation is rather easy to grasp, despite the wails of South Africans that they are always being lied about. But few commentators go beyond an able but by now routine account of the present miseries of *apartheid.*

Too often reporters accept the stereotypes of South African history and the South African people because they do not study the history and do not meet the people. They draw a flat picture of the country that leaves out the intensity of its struggle and the feelings behind it.

The Tragedy of Apartheid
by Norman Phillips
(McKay; $4)

Norman Phillips' *The Tragedy of Apartheid* is a typical book on South Africa in these respects. The book does contain four excellent chapters, and these are accounts of various stages of the explosion that Phillips witnessed for four weeks in South Africa as a correspondent for *The Toronto Star* earlier this year. He does some fine first-hand reporting – of a quality that was missed in US papers – of the disturbances in Johannesburg and Cape Town, the confusion that surrounded the Government's emergency arrests, and his own brief imprisonment as punishment for his reporting.

But the book was apparently written in great haste to capitalize on the last of these events, and (in the main) is the old story of the bad Afrikaners, the slightly less bad black racialists, and the good white liberals and African moderates. The book is loaded with long quotations from other writers, and in its historical passages it takes too much too plainly from the standard authorities, like C. W. de Kiewiet and Gwebdolen Carter, who would be better served by being left out of this work.

As Patrick Duncan, a courageous Cape Town Liberal, once told me, "the trouble is not that the Afrikaners are such bad people, but that in every other way they are such good people." And anyone who knows any Afrikaners senses how right Duncan is. The Afrikaners are horribly wrong on their racial attitude, but they cannot easily be dismissed or hated, because at the same time they are a remarkably friendly people, a tough people, and a people who have always struggled (though perhaps not as hard as they tell themselves), and always will struggle.

But Phillips does not apprehend this, and he knows only the cruelties of *apartheid,* but not the motives. The most obvious motive that he ignores is fear. The fear may sometimes be based on misinformation, like the idea that all Africans want to rape a white woman, or it may be more realistic, as when an Afrikaner farmer recently wrote me that the Africans would like to run the country in a way that would force the whites out. In either case it is a very real and sincerely felt fear, and it is the main force in a country where ideas, however far-fetched, control the government's actions and economic decisions almost absolutely.

One can be less critical about Phillips' treatment of African politicians, both because his own work, especially on the pan-Africanists, is better, and because the material is more obscure, particularly with the arrests and accompanying confusion. But his account of the majestic Chief Luthuli, the jailed president-general of the African National Congress, does fail to note the importance of a handful of Communists in the ANC and a few allied front organizations. The South Africans cry wolf over Communists so often that one is tempted to disbelieve everything they say about them, but this is a mistake, and unfortunately, Mr. Phillips makes it.

Lastly, Phillips probably overemphasizes the rigidity of Verwoerd's control over his party, which has grumbled quite a bit about minor matters, but underestimates that whites' grip on the country in his conclusion. He says, "the police state was very close to entering its concentration-camp stage. Nor would this save the tragic country from another racial explosion within a matter of months. Even Dr. Verwoerd agreed on that." Phillips pays no attention to the degree of confusion spread in African ranks by the arrests of leaders, and exaggerates the Africanists' strength in Johannesburg greatly. Moreover the shootings and beatings did crumble the resistance, and my own guess is that it will take more than a few months before the revolution again builds up the momentum necessary for an explosion in South Africa.

"THE ONE THING *that the eggheads of the New Frontier have in common is a passion for the security of institutional living, whether it be Harvard, Ford Foundation, or U. S. Government. Status, for the new egghead, is institutional; he is the new organizational egghead who is enacting Marxian statics, the politicalization of knowledge. He publishes through institutional subordinates. Truth has, on the New Frontier, become a function of the institution.*"

From the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. Write to Dept. R-7, 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N.Y., for free copy.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Richard L. Strout *is a veteran Washington correspondent.* Francis Pickens Miller, *formerly Moderator of the Presbyterian Synod of Virginia, is a member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches.* Paul Petrie *is on the English faculty of Nebraska State Teachers College.* Adam Clymer, *just back from the Union of South Africa, is taking basic training in the United States Army.*

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RECORDS

From Bach to Copland

Additional examples of Glenn Gould's unique playing of Bach – unique in its vital energy and in the life it imparts to all the strands of the contrapuntal texture – are on Columbia ML-5472 (mono) and MS-6141 (stereo). The works this time are the Italian Concerto, with its great slow movement, the engaging Partita No. 1, the dull Partita No. 2; and in all three the operation of Gould's mind and fingers is exciting and fascinating to observe, even when one questions the rightness of the result – the long decrescendo in the slow movement of the concerto where the implication of the music is a crescendo.

No such energy and saliency of phrase-outline is heard in the piano-playing of Ingrid Haebler in Mozart's Piano Concertos K. 456 and 595, on Epic LC-3677 (mono) and BC-1075 (stereo). The seldom-played K.456 has charming Allegro movements and an outstanding Andante in which a poignantly lovely theme in G minor is elaborated in several variations; K. 595, the last piano concerto and one of the greatest, has a late-in-life calm with which it conveys intimations of agony that preceded calm. For a performance of K. 595 more adequate to the work I suggest Schnabel's on Angel COLH-67. The monophonic recording of the Haebler performances gives brighter sound than the stereophonic.

The tone and inflection that made Gervase de Peyer's the best performance of Mozart's Clarinet Concerto K. 622 are heard again in his newly recorded performance of the work with the London Symphony under Maag, on London CM-9247 (mono) and CS-6178 (stereo). The records also offer Barry Tuckwell's excellent playing in two of Mozart's horn concertos – the slight K. 412 and the more consequential K. 447, which has beautiful melodic writing and a first movement with startling and dramatic shifts of key in its development section.

Mozart's other major work for the clarinet, his Quintet K. 581 for clarinet and strings, is performed by David Oppenheim and the Budapest Quartet on Columbia ML-5455 (mono) and MS-6127 (stereo), and by members of the Vienna Octet on London CM-9121 (mono) only. Of the two, the Viennese group plays with more animation and life; its clarinetist plays with more beautiful tone and phrasing; and its first violin is more agreeable to the ear – Roisman's tone being sharp-edged in the monophonic version of the Budapest performance and not pleasant even in the stereophonic version.

As for other chamber music, the Società Corelli's performance of Vivaldi's *The Four Seasons*, on RCA Victor LM (mono) and LSC (stereo) 2424, hasn't the incandescence of execution, tone and style of the performances of the work by I Musici and the Virtuosi di Roma, or of other performances by the Corelli group itself.

In Franck's Sonata for violin and piano, on Columbia ML-5470 (mono) and MS-6139 (stereo), Isaac Stern's phrasing is for the most part straightforward and unaffected, Alexander Zakin's excessively mannered. The records also offer Debussy's Sonata, a work I don't care for.

Rehearing Prokofiev's Quartet No. 2, which he wrote in 1941-42 in the Caucasus, I again find the first movement unattractive, and the best to be the slow movement based on a Caucasian love song. A good performance by the Carmirelli Quartet is on London CM-9251 (mono) and CS-6174 (stereo), with Ravel's Quartet, a work I dislike.

Prokofiev's *Scythian Suite*, one of the early works that astonish and impress us with their exuberant youthful creative energy, is performed well by Van Remoortel and the St. Louis Symphony on Columbia ML-5462 (mono) and MS-6132 (stereo), which offer in addition the Suite from *The Love for Three Oranges*.

The unfamiliar Prokofiev Symphony No. 4 – brilliantly performed by the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy on Columbia ML-5488 (mono) and MS-6154 (stereo) – was revised in the last years of the composer's life but was first written in 1930; and while the first movement is almost entirely original, the subsequent movements incorporate material from the score for the ballet *The Prodigal Son* (1929). On the one hand I find the first movement uninteresting; on the other hand I find the ballet material more impressive in its original form and expressive context: what, for example, is deeply moving as the music of the prodigal's return at the end of the ballet is less impressive as a mere second movement of the symphony.

The trouble with Leonard Bernstein's performance of Mahler's genial and engaging Symphony No. 4 with the New York Philharmonic, on Columbia ML-5485 (mono) and MS-6152 (stereo), is that as usual Bernstein gives the work his all, which is too much. The performance, in other words, suffers from his tendency to linger over and fuss with.

Krips' performance of Schubert's great Symphony No. 9 with the London Symphony, on London CS-6061 (stereo) only, is a little placid; and to those who would like a stereophonic version of the work I recommend Argenta's more vital and exciting performance, even though

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it is less well recorded on Omega 12.

RCA Victor LM (mono) and LSC (stereo) 2401 offer a Suite from Aaron Copland's opera *The Tender Land* and the Suite from his ballet *Appalachian Spring*, excellently performed by the Boston Symphony under his direction. When I first heard *The Tender Land* it impressed me as Copland's largest and most richly filled-in canvas; this, however, is not an impression one can get from a few excerpts heard out of context; and in addition I think the love duet and the quintet lose by having their vocal parts played by instruments.

As for other American music, Columbia has issued two more records in its Modern American Music series: ML-5476, with William Bergsma's Third Quartet played by the Juilliard Quartet, and Lukas Foss' Quartet No. 1 played by the American Art Quartet; and ML-5477, with Ross Lee Finney's Piano Quintet played by Beveridge Webster and the Stanley Quartet of the University of Michigan, and Ruth Crawford Seeger's Quartet 1931 played by the Amati Quartet. The four works are in idioms which in their various ways convey no coherent musical sense to me.

B. H. HAGGIN

Correspondence

Cuba

Sirs:

Samuel Shapiro's fine article on Cuba is an almost unanswerable indictment of what surely now amounts to one of the major foreign policy blunders of the Republican Administration – a blunder carried out with the very best wishes of the usual Southern Democrats.

The New Republic is to be commended for its courage in breaking through the blanket of silence and distortion that has prevailed too long in our country. But the sad fact is that Mr. Shapiro's story is told somewhat late in the day.

I have just returned from a 1,200-mile trip through five provinces of rural Cuba and feel reasonably competent to confirm the majority of Mr. Shapiro's observations. The slight criticisms I make here are offered with apologies, for in no way would I detract from what is his principal thesis and what, apparently, few Americans wish to believe: that the revulsion against Batista was widespread in all classes and that it is to our eternal shame that the US was Batista's main pillar of strength.

In his enthusiasm for the reform everywhere in evidence today in Cuba, Mr. Shapiro tends to minimize the extent to which the situation there is ideal for Communist control and vulnerable to it. It may well be that McCarthyism conditioned us all to see Communist conspirators behind every blade of grass. But in Cuba the Soviets have, perhaps to their own great surprise, an incredibly handsome opportunity to go much further than the type of penetration typified by the Aswan Dam venture in Egypt: Cuba is small enough that they can do what we failed to do – offer without strings the badly needed technical, financial and other non-military assistance that will give Cuba the strong and healthy economy it must have. The Soviets would be foolish to overlook this opportunity. The Cubans would be foolish to turn it down.

It is so easy to use hindsight in trying to reason the total collapse of Cuban-American relations over the past several years. But I could not help noting, with both shame and regret, that the principal publications in Spanish distributed in Cuba by our United States Information Service (until distribution sources dried up) were anti-Communist diatribes. Significantly, the most popular USIS activity in Cuba until recently was its film service. And the largest "customer" for films on health and other positive non-political subjects was the Revolutionary Government itself.

Raids on Cuban cane fields (the latest was August 26) also provide grist for the mills. It is inconceivable to Cubans that the mighty United States cannot halt these attacks. Therefore, they reason, we must be abetting revengeful Batista exiles in Florida.

As Mr. Shapiro points out, despite our *faux pas* of the past, there was still a chance for a rapprochement when Castro, almost on his own initiative, made the futile trip to Washington. But Castro found our leadership more concerned with the rights of big business. How ironic it is to recall that while it was quite in order to knock ourselves out for a visit by Mr. K, it was clearly too much to extend courtesy and understanding to the popular leader of a neighboring country!

Is it any wonder, then, that the new Cuban Government looked elsewhere for friends? And while these friends may indeed be no friends of ours, we have been most sanctimonious and paternalistic to claim the right to screen Cuba's contacts.

And so, over the past 20 months, we stood pat – seemingly convinced that Castro would be overthrown. During this period of Cuban-American vacuum, during which time propaganda attacks on both sides became more frequent, the Communist movement in Cuba, which had not, as Mr. Shapiro states, always backed Castro, moved more and more toward a different strategy. Only three of the members of the original Castro cabinet mentioned by Mr. Shapiro are in the cabinet today. The others in the cabinet now are "said" (and I hesitate to use the word but must) to be at least as sympathetic to Communism as they are hostile to Washington. The P-S-P has an increasing voice in the government: witness, for example, their success in having key party members appointed to such positions as the governorship of Las Villas province. The mayor of the large city of Santa Clara is also, for example, a Communist.

Hoy, which is perhaps too lightly dismissed by Mr. Shapiro as a rather dull newspaper with a small circulation, is nonetheless the official Communist organ, and from what I could judge, is allied with *Revolución*, official organ of the July 26th Movement, in setting the policy pace for the controlled press. Mr. Shapiro concedes that *Hoy* is published on government presses and certainly this is a unique and most significant situation.

Into the vacuum came Mikoyan, and out of the vacuum into the Soviet Union went key figures like Raul Castro and Antonio Jiminez, who most certainly received in Russia a more cordial welcome than Mr. Herter proferred Fidel Castro in a Washington hotel.

With so few Americans left in Cuba, with the large corporations gone, and with the prospect of a total rupture in diplomatic relations quite possible in the near future, one wonders "can they go it alone without their mighty neighbor?" So many cars and trucks and buses and air conditioners and elevators

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are of American manufacture. What happens when they break down for need of parts? Where will new ones come from?

For one thing, other nations are stepping into the gap. Even as the tankers that carry Soviet oil to Cuba almost daily are flying Russian and British and Chinese and other flags, so are manufactured items coming from other lands.

Take rice, a staple food. Cuban rice is inferior (by their admission) to Louisiana and Arkansas rice. The Cubans were once leading importers of "Uncle Ben's Rice." Now that is cut off and, more troublesome, their own low-grade rice has become susceptible to a disease believed to have some relation to soil conditions. The solution? It comes from Japan, in the form of a special Japanese Agricultural Mission now in Cuba, working with local agronomists in an effort to eradicate the disease and possibly produce a better, more compatible rice strain.

This Japanese good-will cooperation is not as altruistic as it sounds: the Japanese are selling increasingly more and more trucks to Cuba. The Japanese jeep, less expensive and just as well-built as our Willys, is becoming a common sight throughout the island.

Trade arrangements are announced almost daily, and many of these are with Soviet bloc countries. The Chinese, who have always had a sizable population in Cuba, are particularly active on the trade front. A four-story building in downtown Havana houses the Cuban-Chinese Friendship Association.

Belated recognition at convention time of the need for a new Latin American aid program is to be welcomed, but the extent of the program discussed by Mr. Dillon at Bogota seems picayune compared to the enormity of need. Aid in any case is only part of the answer. Another is a new and unafraid look at the behavior of our businessmen abroad.

Even as we have seen fit to regulate commerce and industry within our own borders (anti-trust laws, etc.) without dire effect to the economy of our form of government, so let us legislate to prevent American business abroad from behaving as it would not dare at home.

I share Mr. Shapiro's pessimism that it will be a long time before we can hope for improved relations with Cuba. Perhaps, if we can meanwhile act with restraint and understanding, we may hope

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Quotation Mongering

Sirs:

What an astonishing coincidence that Abraham Brumberg attacked me in the August 29 issue of *The New Republic* for "quotation mongering" when I was just about to write to him protesting that in another recent article he had appropriated an idea from my book, *The Soviet Design for a World State,* but without the benefit of the required acknowledgment as to its source.

In *The New Republic* he accuses me of " 'beefing up' the evidence, irrespective of truth or logic" when I examine Lenin's thought concerning the necessity of individual dictatorship both now and in the future "good society." He contends that Lenin was only talking about such a limited concept as the need for labor discipline among railway workers "in civil-war ridden Russia." Mr. Brumberg specifically asserts that Lenin "does not refer to *political dictatorship*" (his italics) when he refers to dictatorship by individual persons.

Well now, let's see who is drawing unsound generalizations. In the passage in my book where this idea is discussed (pages 43-45), I repeatedly quote Lenin who insists on drawing the broadest possible interpretations. It is precisely the same article to which Mr. Brumberg takes exception that Lenin raises the question: "Is the appointment of individual persons, dictators with unlimited powers, in general, compatible with the fundamental principles of Soviet power?" To this Lenin replied: "The irrefutable experience of history has shown that in the history of revolutionary movements the dictatorship of individual persons was very often the expression, the bearer, the vehicle of the dictatorship of the revolutionary classes." Does this broad historical perspective refer only to non-political matters like discipline among railway workers? Lenin continues: "Hence there is absolutely no contradiction in principle between Soviet (*i.e.,* socialist) democracy and the exercise of dictatorial powers by individual persons." Can this generalization about the nature of the Soviet system exclude all reference to political dictatorship, as Mr. Brumberg insists? And further in my text I cite Lenin when he noted that "Soviet socialist democracy is in no way contradictory to one-man rule and dictatorship, that a dictator sometimes fulfills the will of a class." A dictator fulfilling the will of a class cannot, of course, be construed as having any reference to political dictatorship! Or again, I cited Lenin as saying: "I had pointed out the need of one-way rule, the need of recognizing full dictatorial powers for a single person from the point of view of fulfilling the Soviet idea. All phrases about equal rights are nonsense." By this time it should be obvious who has been guilty of drawing unwarranted conclusions from Lenin's quotations. Since Mr. Brumberg has succeeded in misconstruing Lenin's words, he may claim for himself the designation of "quotation mongerer."

The question as to whether Lenin envisioned individual dictatorship in the future "good society" can only be understood in the context of the metaphor of a conductor of an orchestra and in Lenin's manipulation of the concept of a "general will," which I discussed at some length in various places throughout the book. In the picture that emerges, the Communist theorists look forward to a well-ordered, harmonious society of the future run by what Marx called "one commanding will" such as is found in the director of an orchestra. I pointed out that the orchestra metaphor depicts a highly authoritarian system, and that here the meaning of freedom is reduced to the "freely" desired subordination of all individuals to the will of the dictator-conductor. It is this condition which I call the vision of a stateless totalitarian society, since every individual will automatically and "freely" subordinate himself to the conductor without an apparatus of coercion in the form of the state. I then refer to Engels' formula that "freedom is the recognition of necessity," and indicate that the way in which it had been interpreted by Soviet theorists had reduced "freedom" to the idea of slavery. Far from quoting evidence "irrespective of truth or logic," as Mr. Brumberg charges, Lenin's statements can only be fully understood in view of the logic of the orchestra metaphor which is so central to Communist thinking. In the quotation in question, Lenin specifically uses the orchestra metaphor and contrasts the present with the future, but again Mr. Brumberg would confine the significance of these remarks to the problem of labor discipline among railway workers in 1918!

And now we come to Mr. Brumberg's second article, which I mentioned at the outset. In the August 15-22 issue of *The New Leader* (page 20) Mr. Brumberg speaks of the vision of the "perfect society" that still animates the Soviet regime. It is, he says, "the vision of a well-regulated, smoothly functioning and perfectly coordinated social system in which every individual knows his place and to which he willingly and enthusiastically subordinates himself – a vision, in short, of authoritarianism without coercion, in which freedom is indeed what Engels called (though in an entirely different context and with a different connotation) 'the recognition of necessity'." Now what does that sound like?

It is bad enough for Mr. Brumberg to throw me together in an article with known frauds, but this becomes intolerable when it is compounded by his adopting the essence of my ideas and then publishing them as his own without giving any credit to his source. Imitation may be a form of flattery, but I can do without this variety of it. Finally, it is hardly appropriate that one who is unscrupulous about the use of other people's ideas should complain about "quotation mongering."

Elliott R. Goodman
Providence, R. I.

In reply:

Last things first. Professor Goodman accuses me of plagiarism, inasmuch as some of the conclusions in my *New Leader* article seem to correspond to his. That there is a striking similarity between his ideas and mine can not be denied; but for Professor Goodman to assume that I have "appropriated" the product of his prodigious scholarly effort is, to say the least, presumptuous. The fact is that I had not even laid my eyes on his books when I wrote the article. He is free not to believe me – after all, he has only my word for it – but he is hardly free to claim originality: quite a few other scholars (*e.g.,* E. Goldhagen in the April-June 1959 issue

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of *The Soviet Survey*) have made similar observations on the Soviet conception of the ideal society. And as for that pungent Engels quotation, surely Goodman does not mean to suggest that he is the one to have discovered it?

Both Mr. Goodman and I (and others), then, are agreed that Soviet doctrine now envisions (in Mr. Goodman's apt phrase) a "stateless totalitarian society." But is this "stateless totalitarian society" necessarily tantamount to *individual dictatorship*, and – what is more important in this context – did Lenin actually and explicitly advocate individual dictatorship as the future form of government in a Communist society? Mr. Goodman says yes, but he proves it neither in his book, nor in his rather tempestuous letter.

Exegesis is what Professor Goodman goes in for, so exegesis he will have. The article on which he bases his extrapolations is called "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," and any reader is welcome to scrutinize it in Lenin's *Selected Works*, Vol. VII, pp. 313-350 (International Publishers, New York, n.d.). If he does, he will find that the article does indeed deal "almost exclusively with the centralization of the railway system in civil-war ridden Russia, and with the general problem of labor discipline." He will find that Lenin's feeble excursions into history were undertaken not, as Professor Goodman would have us believe, for the purpose of justifying overall political dictatorship, but for the purpose of justifying "one-man leadership" in industry and "administration" of the economy as a whole, and *only* in the period of "transition from capitalism to socialism." He will find further that Lenin makes a clear distinction between the political "dictatorship of the proletariat" (defined as "the dictatorship of the advanced class, which raises tens and tens of millions of toilers and exploited – who by their own experience learn to regard the disciplined and class-conscious vanguard of the proletariat as their reliable leader – to a new democracy and to independent participation in the administration of the state"), and dictatorship of individual leaders (defined as "representatives of the Soviet government during work time"). He will find, in short, that Professor Goodman is wrong and that I am right.

Lenin was, of course, *addicted* to force and dictatorship – with all that these terms came to mean when the Soviet government became transformed from a revolutionary one-party dictatorship into a full-bloom totalitarian state; and it may therefore be argued, with considerable justification, that Lenin's overwhelming insistence on discipline and unquestioned obedience to "the leaders of the labor process" of necessity led to authoritarianism in the social and political realms as well.

But Goodman is not content to base himself on explicit statements and/or logical deductions: he is bent on "proving" that Lenin had actually advocated individual dictatorship both under "socialism" and under "communism." I cannot, therefore, refrain from quoting (and challenging) the following passage from his book (p. 444): "In the future society the masses would continue to subordinate themselves to a dictator, but, 'given ideal class consciousness and discipline on the part of those participating in the common labor, this subordination would more than anything remind one of the mild leadership of the conductor of an orchestra'." The quote-within-quote is taken from Lenin's article in question. But if Lenin did refer to "the future society" – that is, to "communism," and if Lenin (as the author implies), spoke not only of labor discipline but of *political dictatorship*, why didn't Professor Goodman let us have the words straight from the horse's mouth? Instead of providing the answer to this question, I shall let the reader judge for himself (if he is interested), by referring to the page number from which the quotation is taken: p. 342, paragraphs two and three. If anyone can substantiate Mr. Goodman's contention, I shall write a letter to *The New Republic*, and publicly brand myself a "quotation mongerer."

"Dictatorship," Lenin says in the same article, "is a big word, and big words should not be thrown about carelessly." Distasteful though it may be, I must in this case opt for Lenin. I really do not *mean* to "throw" Mr. Goodman "together with known frauds" (bravo!) – all I plead for is that "even well-meaning and respectable scholars" (my article) be more careful about the sundry big words they perennially have to deal with.

Abraham Brumberg
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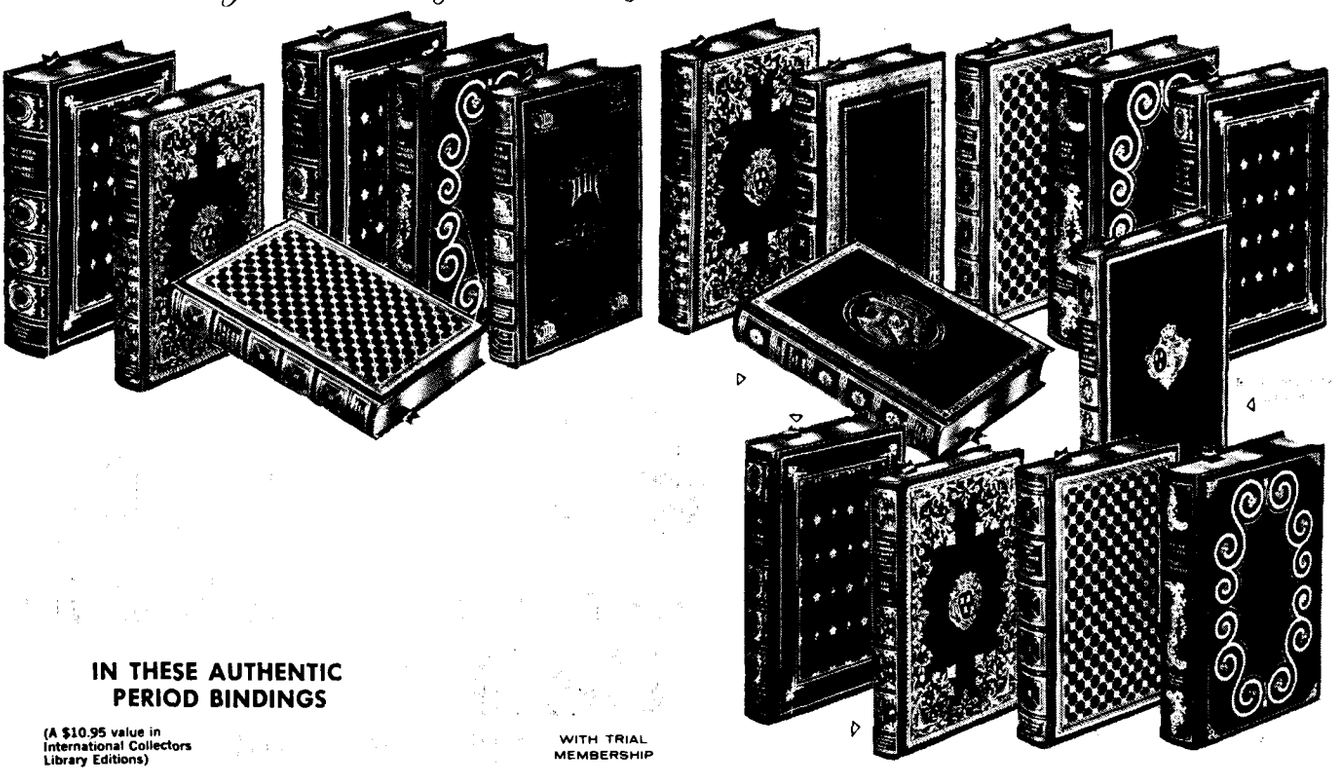

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